

# The English and the Control of Christianity in the Early Edo Period

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## The English and the Control of Christianity in the Early Edo Period

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The history of Japan's de-Christianization in the early seventeenth century has often been told, but is here re-examined using new data, much of it previously unknown. The turn against Catholicism is variously attributed to fear of invasion or cultural difference, but most scholars agree the Dutch played little role, seldom engaging with theological issues. Neglected has been the activities of the English, whose East India Company was in Japan 1613–1626. Investigation of its records reveals that effort was expended on promoting England as Christian, yet non-papal. Moreover, England was anti-Jesuit, having recently expelled the order. The head of the English station was Richard Cocks, regarded as a poor merchant. But it has been little recognised that he had a prior career as a spy, employed to counter Catholic interests: he was likely sent to Japan for that reason. Then, in 1616, English ships arrived bearing quantities of painted and printed imagery, including anti-Catholic propaganda. Some was conveyed to Edo and given out to senior shogunal officials. To words were now added visual statements about England's independence from Rome. Their distribution exactly coincides with the final expulsion of the missionaries.

**Keywords:** Christianity, Jesuits, Catholicism, Anti-Catholicism, Expulsion, Richard Cocks, William Addames (Adams), Tokugawa Hidetada, England, Art

### Introduction

This paper seeks to offer a new analysis of the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from Japan, and surrounding steps that led to the de-Christianization of the shogunal state. I contend that one set of information has been overlooked. It was said at the time, including by the Jesuits themselves, that the English arrival turned the shogunate against the missions, after nearly three generations of relative concord with Japanese institutions.<sup>1</sup> This paper attempts

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<sup>1</sup> The two standard books on the history of Anglicanism in Japan make no mention of this early period. See Winburn 1959 and Tucker 1938.

to reinsert the forgotten matter of the English into the narrative of the termination of the “Christian century.”

The Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies, later to be known as the English East India Company, was founded in 1600. Having established a base in Bantam on Java, it arrived in Japan in 1613, with one ship, the *Clove*. The Company established its trading station (or factory) at Hirado, next to the Dutch Company’s premises, and operated this for a decade. The English withdrew in 1623; the central committee, or Court, in London concluding, “for Japan comodities fittinge for England, we knowe nothinge that comes from thence that we can expect any great gaines ther of,” and reciprocally so for English manufactures sent to Japan.<sup>2</sup> This short span has made the Company and its employees easy to discount in the newly-forming shogunal realm. One scholar has even written that England (after union with Scotland in 1709, Great Britain), “left no mark on Japan until the late 19th century.”<sup>3</sup> Yet this is demonstrably wrong. For a start, there was much interest in Great Britain during the eighteenth century *rangaku* 蘭学 period, to the extent, indeed, that *rangaku*, though routinely translated “Dutch studies,” would be better rendered “European studies.”<sup>4</sup> But it was during the early Edo period that the English were a direct presence, and could offer assistance (or sow confusion) in the form of ideas, information and hardware. Anti-Christian sentiment in Japan was as old as evangelism itself. But as will be shown below, key moves taken by the Tokugawa against the priests and their flock can be rather neatly plotted against interventions by the English, and actually, these plottings turn out to be distinctly neater than rationales put forward in other recent writings.

The definitive change in shogunal attitudes towards the missions occurred over a period of some thirty months, from the close of 1613 to the summer of 1616. This has long been recognised.<sup>5</sup> In the middle, and intimately related, was the Battle of Osaka Castle, which pitted the Tokugawa against their final rivals, the Toyotomi 豊臣. Victory was vital to the consolidation of the new shogunate. Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1553–1616) fought at Osaka, but he had already retired in favour of his son, Hidetada 秀忠 (1579–1632) though not relinquishing control. Ieyasu died in the summer of 1616, allowing Hidetada to instigate measures that mark the end of the period under discussion. Although the anti-Christian steps of 1613–1616 have been examined before, we will here analyze them in terms of the often covert English input.

## Evangelisms

The concerted evangelism of the Iberian nations is often contrasted with the attitude of the Dutch, who arrived in Japan in 1600, their presence regularized nine years later with appearance of the United (or “Dutch”) East India Company (the VOC). It is endlessly repeated that the Dutch exhibited no desire to convert, made no effort to explain their beliefs or ecclesiastical system, and were tolerated throughout the Edo period as a result.

2 Instructions from the Company to Robert Youart for the *Advice’s Voyage* to Japan, Bantam, 10.8.1615, reproduced in Farrington (ed.) 1991, p. 301. Pagination is continuous across the two volumes.

3 Moran 1992, p. 400.

4 On England/Great Britain in Edo, see Screech 2006.

5 Gonoï 1992, pp. 117–54. Most recently, Nam-lin Hur reiterates that moves at the close of 1613 have “long been regarded as a benchmark in the seriousness of the Tokugawa shogunate’s endeavour to eradicate Christianity.” See Hur 2007, p. 43. However, he does not mention the English.

The English, if they are mentioned at all, are assumed to have acted in similar fashion. Such a narrative is probably too glib for the Dutch, but is certainly so for the English, who put considerable energy into outlining the nature of their faith and their church, at the highest levels, and met with consistent Japanese interest in this. It may be true that neither country sought to induct Japanese to their reformed churches, but this paper does not argue for English *evangelism*, only for a role of knowledge of the religious situation in England as instrumental in turning the shogunate against Roman Catholicism.

The importance of the Church of England to early seventeenth century Japan lay outside its rituals: as an established church, Anglicanism was part of the apparatus of state, and since the time of Henry VIII (1491–1547), had been autocephalic (“with its own head”), not tied to Rome; since Elizabeth I (1533–1603), it had its own Supreme Governor in the person of the king or queen. This was of interest in Japan, and moreover was not the case with the Dutch Protestant churches. The latter were free of Rome, but were not established, nor subject to a national monarchy, for the good reason that none existed. The United Provinces was a notional republic, under an elected stadtholder.

England alone offered the model of state Christianity independent of foreign powers and cleansed of the perennial dilemma of Catholicism, especially of the Jesuits, with their vow of total loyalty, via a Superior-General, to the Pope. Ieyasu and Hidetada, and later Iemitsu 家光 (1604–1651) never sought to become the analogous head of some Japanese Christian church.<sup>6</sup> But it has seldom been noticed how, along English lines, after the expulsion of the foreign missionaries, the shogunate showed a rather relaxed attitude towards continuing local belief. As in England, it was *foreign priests* with foreign loyalties, and notably Jesuits, who exercised the authorities, and a faithful denuded of outside contact, and integrated into a peaceable state, did not alarm them overmuch. Hidetada would probably have concurred with James I that the priests had to be exiled, “so they may freely glut themselves upon their imagined gods,” but “persons popishly affected” should be cajoled with more leniency.<sup>7</sup> Post-expulsion toleration of Japanese believers, albeit qualified and disciplining, came to an abrupt end only after twenty years, with the Shimabara uprising 島原の乱 of 1637. Shimabara proved that even without the padres, Christians would always have the capacity to be politically erratic. It was only then that calls came for a Final Solution, to borrow George Ellison’s heightened phrase.<sup>8</sup>

Standard histories routinely adduce three factors to account for the expulsion of the priests and then full de-Christianization of Japan. One is fear of invasion. The shogunate was in communication with New Spain (Mexico), the Philippines and Macau, and was aware that colonization followed on the heels of evangelism. Yet, documentary evidence indicating such a fear is rather slim, and given a battle-hardened shogunate fighting on home ground, invasion would have seemed unrealistic on all sides.<sup>9</sup> There was a sense of insult that foreign powers had designs on Japan, and perhaps also concern that local believers might rebel as a fifth column. But most Japanese Christians were peasants, forced into conversion by an

<sup>6</sup> See Sonehara 2008, pp. 45–55, and also Hur 2007.

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in Haynes 1989, pp. 150 and 157. It is to be noted that under James I—unlike Elizabeth I—there were very few executions for recusancy (refusal to attend Church of England services).

<sup>8</sup> Ellison 1991, pp. 185–211. For the extent to which the Shimabara uprising can be called Christian, see Kanda 2005.

<sup>9</sup> The main documented case relates to vainglorious comments offered by one of the pilots, Francisco de Olandia, of the Spanish *San Felipe*, in 1596. However, the Spanish denied these were ever made. See Boxer 1967, pp. 164–66.

overlord, and despite some terrible martyrdoms, they proved as ready to renounce their faith as they had been to take it up, at shogunal, or other command. There was little wide mobilization in the name of Christ against the shogunate—especially if Shimabara is queried as a purely-Christian uprising, as it has recently been.

Secondly, it is argued that inter-European rivalries discredited the church, and that the priests brought destruction on themselves. There is more truth here. The Japanese Jesuit mission dated to 1549, and the Franciscans arrived only in 1593.<sup>10</sup> There was also a national issue, for the Jesuits were predominantly Portuguese, while the Franciscans were mostly Spanish.<sup>11</sup> To this struggle may be added the handful of Dominicans and Augustinians who arrived in 1603 and included Spaniards born in Mexico.<sup>12</sup> As is well known, the papacy had sought to avoid just such tensions by dividing the world in two, as recognized by Spain and Portugal in 1494, at the Treaty of Tordesillas. This assigned the West to Spain and the East to Portugal, along a line passing through the Cape Verde Islands.

Japanese converts were generically dubbed *kirishitan*, but the Toyotomi, and later the Tokugawa, were able to understand the differences between the *Yasokai* (耶蘇会, the Society of Jesus) and the *Furaten* (フラテン, Franciscans), and their flocks, and they sometimes exerted differing pressures on them.

The third factor can be more briskly dismissed, namely that Christianity was just too incommensurably foreign to be embraced in Japan.<sup>13</sup> The success of the missions, while it lasted, suggests that this was not the case, and we may also note that when the shogunate imposed their restrictions, they cited three groups for curtailment: *kirishitan*, *hiden* ヒデン and *fujufuse* 不受不施; the second is obscure, but the third is entirely Buddhist, and the edict even calls them “three branches of one sect.”<sup>14</sup> Thus, Christianity was not a problem incommensurable with other religious issues that the shogunate had to deal with. Moreover, the above three factors are not able to explain specifically why the most extreme measures began when they did, in late 1613 and continued until 1616.

## Restriction Edicts

The restrictions on Christianity imposed during 1613–1616 came in the form of two principal edicts. There had been anti-Christian legislation before, but these were qualitatively different. This needs to be proven, and so we begin with a short survey of relevant preceding codes.<sup>15</sup>

In summer 1587, Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536?–1598) issued the first anti-Christian regulations; two on consecutive days in the 6th month. The first proscribed *bateren monto* 伴天連門徒, meaning Christian converts, and the second *bateren* (priests) themselves.

<sup>10</sup> Üçerler 2008, pp. 94, 153–68 and Cooper 2005, p. 173. The monopoly, removed in 1586, was reconfirmed in 1600.

<sup>11</sup> This was not entirely so: the founder of the Jesuit mission, Francis Xavier, was Spanish (actually Basque), while the Jesuit Visitor, Alessandro Valignano was from the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (ruled by Spain).

<sup>12</sup> Boxer (1967, p. 322) enumerates fourteen Franciscans, nine Dominicans and four Augustinians.

<sup>13</sup> This is elegantly dismissed in Paramore 2009.

<sup>14</sup> This text is translated by Satow 1878, pp. 46–51, where the articles are described as “a set of fifteen rules intended to guide the [Buddhist] priests who were to guarantee the orthodoxy of their parishioners.” Satow suggests *hiden* is a corruption of “heathen,” p. 49, n. 11. Satow does not give his source for these Articles, and I have been unable to locate one. However, Satow’s main text (coming before the Articles) appears in Tokutomi 1924, pp. 116–23.

<sup>15</sup> The documents referred to below are collated in Shimizu 1977. For a thorough analysis, which differs from that here, see Gonoï 1992, pp. 117–54, and in English, Ohashi 1996, pp. 46–62.

It was stipulated that the *bateren* were to “return to their home country within twenty days.” This already implies that part of the perceived problem lay in the priests’ being foreign, although, in fact, by then Japanese had already been ordained. Further, for converts, the regulation is limited to those possessing over 100–200 *chō* 丁 or 2,000–3,000 *kan* 貫; that is, potential power-brokers.<sup>16</sup> Hideyoshi did not enforce the expulsion order and he had nothing to say about common believers, who were not an issue for him. He had little to say about any Christian issues for the next several years, and the mission remained guardedly optimistic. The first bishop arrived in 1596, and Hideyoshi met him, though he was discreetly billed as just the bearer of a letter from the Viceroy. Hideyoshi told this representative, Pedro Martins (d. 1598) that he was not opposed to Christianity, and although he did not rescind his previous edicts, he apologized for them, and gave Bishop Martins permission to reside in Japan. This at least is what the bishop would later record.<sup>17</sup> After being received in audience, Martins stayed three weeks in Kyoto, and performed nearly 2,000 confirmations.

To underscore his directives, however, Hideyoshi had ordered six foreign priests and nineteen Japanese believers to be seized in Kyoto, and they were taken to Nagasaki for execution in what became a famous incident in the martyrology of Japan. It certainly demonstrated Hideyoshi’s intention to claim power of control over the *kirishitan*, and this was the first time that an overarching ruler had taken such measures. But Hideyoshi was doing much the same with the Buddhist institutions. Note also that the original command was to execute 170 Christians; the number was then reduced to forty seven, and then to twelve, though in the end twenty six lost their lives. The motivation for these killings was the building of an over-grand, three-story Franciscan church in central Miyako 都 (Kyoto); no Jesuits were involved (until two more of less forced themselves into the death-band en route). At issue was *lèse-majesty* in the Capital, not extirpating Christianity.<sup>18</sup> Within the bloody context of Japan’s sixteenth century, these numbers suggest Hideyoshi had no appetite for major change. He had the lavish temple, which had provoked his ire, the Nanbanji 南蛮寺 dismantled, but smaller churches remained throughout the country. Hideyoshi did not issue any further significant restrictions on the missions.<sup>19</sup>

After the creation of the shogunate in 1603, Ieyasu moved quickly, with a regulation in 1604 to his own vassal group (*kajindan* 家人団). He issued it to Honda Masazumi 本田正純 (1566–1637), his principal adviser. It grew out of issues of trust (Christians had committed larceny), and was more geared to the reorganization of economics than religion.<sup>20</sup> Ieyasu also confined Iberian ships to Nagasaki (which consolidation, in fact, helped the Jesuits). This was the only pertinent regulation Ieyasu passed as shogun. There was nothing more of any kind for several years, and it seems the Tokugawa, like the Toyotomi, had come to accept that *bateren monto* (that is, *kirishitan*) would exist, and would need their foreign *bateren*.

In 1612, in retirement, Ieyasu wrote to the Viceroy of New Spain. He noted, “the religion (*hō* 法) of your country is very distinct, and would seem to have no affinity with

16 Shimizu 1977, pp. 268–69.

17 Cooper 1994, p. 117. Cooper argues that Hideyoshi had ordered him to return to Macao.

18 Cooper 1994, p. 140. For another view that this martyrdom has been exaggerated, see Nathalie Kouamé, “Drôle de repression: Pour une nouvelle interprétation des mesures anti chrétiennes du général Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1582–1598),” in Arnaud Broton (et al.), *État, Religion et Répression en Asie: Chine, Corée, Japon, Vietnam (XIII<sup>e</sup> – XXI<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Karthala, 2011), pp. 149–82.

19 Hideyoshi imposed six further orders, but they did not extend the prohibitions (Shimizu 1977, pp. 269–74).

20 Shimizu 1977, p. 275. See also Paramore 2009, pp. 53–54.

that of ours... Upon thinking matters over, does one not conclude that evangelism (*kōhō* 弘法) should be brought to an end?"<sup>21</sup> This does show a hardening of stance. It perhaps also evinces a hope to prize the control of trade, which he wished to expand, away from the *bateren*. Here too is the notion that, somehow, Christianity might be incompatible with Buddhist-Shinto beliefs. But the letter was a piece of diplomacy; it did not seek concrete results, and it achieved none.

The first Tokugawa edict as such came some months later. This was part of the Okamoto Daihachi (岡本大八 aka Paulo Okamoto; d. 1612) incident, in which a senior *kirishitan* was executed for forging documents. However, this also seems more related to legal than to religious matters. Initially, the punishment of execution was levelled at Daihachi's wife, also a believer, but she was later exonerated.<sup>22</sup> An ensuing document banned (*goseikin nari* 御制禁也) *bateren monto*, though there is no explicit reference to *bateren*.<sup>23</sup> This was the first realm-wide regulation. There is a further hardening, to be sure, but scant will to enforce. Precedent, an important concept in Japanese law, also remained powerfully on the side of inaction.<sup>24</sup> The edict of 1612 is actually a small code of five articles, only the second of which (the shortest, all of twenty two characters) refers to Christianity. The rest deal with an assortment of issues, such as a ban on smoking and the regulation of livestock slaughter. Some people were adversely affected, no doubt, but as a law, it was weak. It could have been stronger, or enforced more energetically, but the shogunate chose not to do so.

Many so-called anti-Christian edicts turn out to be isolated articles buried within omnibus legislation. Anthologizing them as part of a "history of Christianity in Japan" is mis-leading. Criminality—Christian or otherwise—had to be penalised, and there were specific Christian offences (defiling Buddhist images or urinating on shrines). Given the enforced nature of conversion, swells, thugs and alternative-livers (*kabukimono* かぶき者) were probably as numerous as any other group within the Christian community, and so had to be brought to heel in the same way.<sup>25</sup> That the 1612 edict did not amount to a real banning of Christianity is evident from the fact that about 150 *bateren* and *iruma* イルマ (*irmão*, lay brothers), and some 300,000 *kirishitan* lived openly in Japan after it was issued.

### Sūden's Text of Late 1613

Sixteen months on, in late 1613, there came an absolute alteration. It can be pinpointed precisely. On the 19th day of the 12th month, Ieyasu proposed Ōkubo Tadachika 大久保忠隣 (1553–1628), daimyo of Odawara 小田原 and a senior shogunal adviser, be sent to Kyoto "in order that the *bateren monto* might be swept away (*bateren monto no tame on oiharai aru beku* 伴天連門徒為可有御追払)."<sup>26</sup> On the 21st, Konchi'in Sūden 金地院崇伝 (1569–1633), the Zen prelate who drafted much shogunal law, was summoned to Edo. He arrived at night and was at once ushered into the presence of Ieyasu and Hidetada, and told to prepare a text. This he did on the 22nd. On the 23rd, it was approved by Ieyasu and passed to

21 Shimizu 1977, p. 282. Hidetada had also written to the King of Spain/New Spain in 1610 (Shimizu 1977, p. 278).

22 Cooper 1994, p. 251; Elisonas 1992, p. 366.

23 Shimizu 1977, p. 283.

24 For Ieyasu's view of the importance of precedent with regard to the toleration of Christianity, see Gono 1992, p. 121 and William Addames, letter to Augustine Spalding in Bantam, 12.1.1613, in Farrington (ed.) 1991, p. 78.

25 Gono 1992, p. 121. For *kabukimono* among converts, see Anon. 1639, pp. 534–35.

26 Gorō (attrib.) 1911, pp. 215–319. See also Hur 2007, p. 47.



Hidetada for his seal.<sup>27</sup> The document expressed its difference from all previous texts by neologizing. It proscribed *bateren totō* and *kirishitan no totō*. *Totō* 徒党—“conspirators” or “recusants”—not previously encountered, fixes the groups into definable constituencies, while the self-designation of believers, *kirishitan*, is accepted for the first time in official writing, giving a tautological parallel.

Judgement has been harsh on Sūden’s effort. It has been criticised as “gobbledygook” (*chinpunkan* 陳奮漢), “without rhyme or reason...its thinking is disorganised...it is prolix and its focus obscure, it makes little impact...it gives the impression of putting on a bold front to no purpose...”<sup>28</sup> This is to misconstrue its purpose. Here was no routine shogunal law; this was nothing short of a manifesto. After half-hearted regulations going back to 1587, Ieyasu offered a statement of new thinking, on which real change would be based. Composition was in *kanbun* 寛文, the language of disquisition, not *sōrōbun* 候文, the language of law. The document is also without a recipient, the lack of which perplexes those who see it as legislation (laws needed recipients). However, this is entirely in keeping with the practice for a policy statement.<sup>29</sup> Sūden himself just called it a “document” (*sho* 書), certainly not a law (*rei* 令).<sup>30</sup> It is indeed a very elegant exercise in outlining Japanese religion, abstract because that is right for the purpose. Only a few lines mention Christianity, because the text is not about “banning Christianity” so much as providing a theorization of the sacred life of the state. There is much on Japan’s historic sanctity as a “divine land” (*shinkoku* 神国). Christianity is briefly defined as a “pernicious creed” (*jakyō* 邪教) that will “confuse correct belief” (*seishū o madowasu* 惑正宗), “alter the government of castle towns” (*jōchū no seiji gō o aratame* 改城中之政治号), and so must be “swiftly prohibited lest in later generations the realm will surely suffer” (*kyū kinzezu kōsei kanarazu kokka no wazurai* 急不禁、後世必国家之患).

After New Year, Ōkubo Tadachika was dispatched, under the title of Magistrate (*bugyō* 奉行), accompanied by Itakura Shigemune 板倉重宗 (1586–1667), son of the Commander of Kyoto (the *shoshidai* 京都所司代). This was the first time a framework of enforcement had accompanied an “anti-Christian” move. Copies of the manifesto were circulated (again, uncommon for a law), in Kyoto, Osaka and Sakai (Osaka’s port). Tadachika spent five months destroying churches, and relocating Jesuit priests and Franciscan friars, thirty one in number to Nagasaki for repatriation. Japanese converts were encouraged to “revise” (*aratame* 改め) their views, and almost all did, switching to a less controversial stripe of Buddhism.<sup>31</sup>

This has been called the “Tokugawa *bakufu*’s first official statement of a comprehensive control of the Kirishitan;” one which was “to be fully implemented and canonized as one of the fundamental Tokugawa laws.”<sup>32</sup> Pace the terms “law,” it is correct to claim that that nothing of the like had been envisaged before, much less acted upon.

27 Honkō Kokushi 1915, p. 562. Konchi’in Sūden 1989, p. 33. Note that Honkō Kokushi and Konchi’in Sūden are the same person. See also Narushima 1929–35, vol. 38, p. 640; and Takagi 2004, pp. 59–84 and p. 65, n. 12. Takagi mistakes the dates, collapsing the three days into two. For the text, see Shimizu 1977, pp. 284–85. A translation can be found in Satow 1878, pp. 46–48, but translations used here are my own.

28 Tokutomi 1924, p. 123. Tokutomi also provides a modern Japanese translation of the edict. See also Nakamura Kōya. *Tokugawa Ieyasukō den* (1965), quoted in Takagi 2004, pp. 61–62.

29 Takagi (2004, p. 65) notes the absence of recipient and the textual style, but is unable to account for them.

30 Honkō Kokushi 1915, p. 562.

31 Gotō (attrib.) 1911, pp. 251 and 258. Hur (2007, p. 38) suggests Christianity was “a blurred margin of Buddhism.”

32 Higashibaba 2001, p. 139.



No previous regulation had resulted in a significant number of priests departing from Japan, but now almost two thirds of foreign priests left along with a few leading converts, such as the daimyo of Takatsuki, Takayama Ukon (高山右近 1552–1615), and the senior warrior Naitō Jo'an (内藤如安 1550?–1626) with his sister.<sup>33</sup> This has been termed the Great Expulsion, or Exile (*dai tsuihō* 大追放). The departures were confirmed to Ieyasu on 13th day of the 10th month, so ample time had been given for an orderly departure and a careful “revision” of view.<sup>34</sup> The shogunate, assuming all priests had gone, barely touched the common believers who failed to “revise” their views, though there were occasional and brutal interventions. In fact, some forty five *bateren* and *iruma* disobeyed and remained behind. Further legislation was needed when this fact was subsequently uncovered. It came the following year, and was of an entirely new type.

Exactly what had occurred to change shogunal thinking between summer 1612 and winter 1613–1614? Only one event can be suggested as a trigger for this alteration: the arrival of the English. The *Clove* sailed into Nagasaki Bay on 10 June 1613; it was redirected to Hirado, arriving the next day. This was the 3rd day of the 5th month by the Japanese calendar, some seven months before Sūden's writing.<sup>35</sup> When the *Clove* sailed back to London in early December 1613, the interval was down to about six weeks.

### Comments from the English

The next out-sailing season, in late 1614, allowed the English to send word home of the wider impact of their arrival. This they did via a Dutch ship, no English ship having some that year. This provoked a flurry of letter writing, which is extremely useful to us. Richard Cocks (1566–1624), the director of the English factory, wrote to the head of all English operations in Asia, John Jourdain (c. 1573–1617), in Bantam, noting the huge shift in Tokugawa thinking. He stated: “They [the Jesuits] lay the fault of this alteration one [to?] the arrivall of our nation in thease p'tes.”<sup>36</sup> To no less a person than Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury (1563–1612), Treasurer of England and one of the richest and most powerful people in the country, Cocks wrote: “[The priests] murmured and gave out many large reportes that the arrival of our Englishe nation in these partes is the cheefe occasion of this alteration.”<sup>37</sup> Cocks also confided in his diary that “[they] attribute a great (or cheefe) occasion of banishm't of them out of Japon p'r measures of the English.”<sup>38</sup>

33 Higashibaba 2001, p. 141, n. 35. Üçerler (2008, p. 162) calculates 115 Jesuits departed, sixty five to Macau, twenty three to Manila, and twenty seven remained in Japan. Numbers of priests in Japan are not clear for all periods, but the highest number of Jesuits is thought to be 142 in 1591 (Üçerler 2008, p. 160). For Ukon, Jo'an and his sister, Julia, see Nihon Kirisutokyōdan Shuppankyoku (ed.) 1986, q.v. Julia opened St Michael's Convent for Japanese women on Luzon, in the Philippines.

34 Gotō (attrib.) 1911, p. 275.

35 Saris 1941, p. 144. To calibrate dates I have used, Nojima (ed.) 1987. However, those dates are Gregorian, and England still used the Julian calendar, meaning eleven days must be subtracted.

36 Cocks to Jourdain, 10.12.1614, reproduced in Farrington (ed.) 1991, p. 246.

37 Cocks to Salisbury, same date as above (Farrington [ed.] 1991, p. 256). For convenience, I refer to Robert Cecil throughout as “Salisbury,” though he was raised to that earldom only in 1605.

38 Cocks 1979–82, vol. 1, p. 240.

Sometime later, summing up the situation in another letter to Bantam, Cocks noted:

The emperor [i.e. ex-shogun, Ieyasu] hath banished all the Jesuits, priests, & friars, and pulled down all their churches and monasteries. They put the fault in the arrival of the English in Japon.<sup>39</sup>

Cocks may have had an agenda, but there is no valid reason to disallow what he so concertedly wrote. And note that he did not cite, nor claim others were citing, fear of invasion, inter-Order rivalry, nor cultural incomprehension as contributory factors, though he did hold up Jesuit “misdemeanor” and arrogance as causes of the expulsion.<sup>40</sup> The Catholic side also noted that the English were going about claiming they were the cause of the change of heart, and reintroducing the issue if not of invasion, then of political intrusion. There is extant a poorly sourced record, sent back to Spain by a missionary, which notes that “an English seaman” informed “the King” that the Jesuits “want to take Japan over and make of it what they have made of Peru or New Spain, and this is the real reason why they are here.” This Englishman claimed that “the King” (Hidetada?), “believes this, which is the sole cause of his carrying out the persecutions.” The missionary continued: “We have all heard this, from the Englishman’s own mouth.”<sup>41</sup> This man must be William Addames, well-known to recent scholarship, though under the modernized spelling of ‘Adams’ (which he never used, and was seldom referred to by). Addames had been in Japan already for many years, but now fortified by the arrival of Saris and the *Clove*.

So, what had the English done in the months after their arrival? Available data comes from John Saris (c. 1540–1643), the English leader, or General, who had commanded the *Clove*, though his diary is sadly brief.<sup>42</sup> There is, additionally, considerable correspondence between the English factors. On the Japanese side, there is Sūden’s diary, the official *Sunpuki* 駿府記 and the *Tokugawa jikki* 徳川実紀.<sup>43</sup> Beyond these documents, there exist references to meetings but there are no records of what was actually said. The daimyo of Hirado, Matura Takanobu 松浦隆信 (1592–1637), host to the English factory (and of the Dutch nearby), would have served as a conduit to the shogunate.<sup>44</sup> Takanobu did not visit Edo or Sunpu (Ieyasu’s retirement castle) during the period between the English arrival and Sūden’s manifesto, but we know that in later years he corresponded with, among others, Yokota Kakuzaemon 横田角左衛門 (dates unknown), the senior attendant of Doi Toshikatsu 土井利勝 (1573–1644). He may have been doing so already at this time.<sup>45</sup> Importantly, in early September, that is, late in the Japanese 7th month, Saris went to both cities to tender gifts and present the letter from King James of England (*Ei Zemeshi teiō* 英ぜめし帝王,

39 Cocks to Westby, 25.2.1616, in Farrington (ed.) 1991, pp. 387–88.

40 For English views on Jesuit arrogance, see note above, and for misdemeanours, see Farrington (ed.) 1991, p. 235. Cocks stated that inter-Order rivalry became an issue only when the missions were closed in 1614. See Farrington (ed.) 1991, p. 257.

41 Tokutomi 1924 cites this letter on pp. 114–15 as a document in the Archivo de los Indios in Seville, but offers no further information.

42 Note that Cocks’s *Diary* is lost for 6.11.1613–1.6.1615. However, his overview of the period from his arrival in Japan until 6 November is reproduced in Farrington (ed.) 1991, pp. 1512–33.

43 The main sources are Honkō Kokushi 1915; Narushima 1929–35; and Gotō (attrib.) 1911.

44 For a recent discussion of Hirado, see Clulow 2010.

45 Matura Takanobu held talks with Ieyasu on 18.6.1614. (See Gotō [attrib.] 1911, p. 261.)

1566–1625).<sup>46</sup> In this he was partly funded by Takanobu. Ieyasu received a gilt basin, a telescope, a burning class, and quantities of cloth, to a total value of nearly £90; Hidetada was presented with a standing cup and cover, also much cloth, valued at nearly £45.<sup>47</sup> They reciprocated with armor and gold painted screens.<sup>48</sup> Regrettably, Saris's discussions with the shogun, ex-shogun and others, if they took place, are unrecorded.

### William Addames, John Saris and Richard Cocks

Highly relevant is the figure of William Addames (1564–1620). He had quit Europe in 1598, arriving in Japan on the first Dutch ship, the *Liefde*, two years later.<sup>49</sup> He had no contact with his homeland until the English appeared in 1613. Cocks would say he had “byn in such favour w<sup>th</sup> two Emperours of Japon as never was any Christian in these p<sup>r</sup>tes of the worlde.” When the ambassador from Sendai, Hasekura Tsunenaga 支倉常長 (1571–1622) arrived in Spain via Mexico in late 1614, one of his retinue reported to the English consul in Seville that an Englishman named ‘Adammes’ had become a ‘great lord’ in Japan; this assumes he was in position to influence policy.<sup>50</sup> Ieyasu certainly honoured Addames with land and title. When the *Clove* arrived, Saris was informed nothing could be done until Addames came, which he duly did three weeks later. Addames must have been dispatched from the Japanese side, probably by Ieyasu himself, upon news of the English landing.<sup>51</sup> Ieyasu well understood that a new nation—Addames’s—had come to Japan, and its leaders needed to be interrogated.

Once in Hirado, Addames was allowed five days to acquaint himself with Saris and Cocks. He had missed out on a huge slice of English history, and particularly of the control of Catholicism and the institutions of the Church of England. He would have known of the excommunication of Elizabeth I in 1570, and Parliament’s making it treasonable to accept that ruling in England. He would have known of Elizabeth’s expulsion of Catholic priests in 1585, on pain of death, and how some dozen Jesuits had left England. But he would have been ignorant of the English mission to Rome in 1602 to lobby for an end to Jesuit political activity in England; of Rome’s rejection of this request, and of Elizabeth’s consequent requirement that all Catholic priests still present submit to the Crown, or leave and that all Jesuits quit England. Neither would he have known of the death of Elizabeth I (some said by Jesuit poison) in 1603, and the succession of James I, the attempt on his life and the lives of members of the Houses of Lords and Commons in the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 (also said to be a Jesuit instigation). On the Continent, he would have been unaware

46 For funding of the trip, see Saris 1941, p. 174. From Miyako, Ieyasu provided nineteen horses (Cocks 1979–82, vol. 1, p. 181). For the translation of James’s name and title, see Konchi’in Süden 1989, p. 75.

47 To put this in context, when the English and Spanish made peace in 1605, Phillip III gave James I a cup worth £2,750 (Haynes 1989, p. 124).

48 Saris 1941, p. 171; Gotō (attrib.) 1911, p. 244. Note that the English call Sunpu ‘Surungava,’ ‘Shrongo,’ ‘Surungo’ (from Suruga 駿河). The armor sent to James I is extant in the Royal Armouries Museum, Leeds (object number XXVIa.1).

49 Addames’s early career is unclear, but see Massarella 1990, pp. 72–73 and 265.

50 Cocks to East India Company, 14.12.1620, in Farrington (ed.) 1991, p. 824. The consul, Victorin Sachwxell, reported this to Sir Ralph Winwood, King James’s Secretary of State, in December, 1614, see Noel Sainsbury (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series: East Asia, China and Japan, 1513–1616* (Kraus, 1964; 2nd ed.) vol. 2, pp. 349–50.

51 Saris 1941, p. 167. Gotō ([attrib.] 1911, p. 242) records the English arrival on the 5th day of the 6th month.

of the assassination of Henry III (1551–1589) in 1589, and the resulting expulsion of the Jesuits from France, and their return in 1603; he could not have known either of their being blamed for the assassination of the next king, Henry IV (1553–1610) in 1610.<sup>52</sup>

The seventy five men on the *Clove*, and especially Saris and Cocks, knew all these things. Cocks, who hailed from an upwardly mobile family on the margin of gentry status, was well educated and widely read.<sup>53</sup> If he was acquainted with recent books, he perhaps knew of Robert Abbot's (1588–1662) *True Ancient Roman Catholike* (1611), Sir Walter Raleigh's (1554–1618) *Dialogue between a Jesuit and a Recusant: Showing How Dangerous Are Their Principles to Christian Princes* (1612), Philippe de Mornay's (1549–1623) *The Mysteries of Iniquitie: That Is to Say, the Historie of the Papacie* (English translation, 1612), and William Fennor's (c. 1600–c. 1640) *Pluto His Travailes, or, the Devils Pilgrimage to the Colledge of Jesuites* (1612) to name but a few.<sup>54</sup> There was in English a wealth of writing on how to deal with the perceived Catholic menace.

Prior to Japan, Cocks had lived in France for perhaps a decade, ostensibly as a merchant, but also in a secret government capacity as a spy on behalf of Salisbury.<sup>55</sup> We have seen that Cocks's link to Salisbury was maintained, for he sent him long dispatches from Hirado. Cocks had become a freeman of London's Cloth workers' guild in 1597, and shortly thereafter moved to Bayonne. Though now eclipsed by Biarritz, Bayonne was a port of immense strategic value, connecting the Atlantic and Mediterranean, and thus Spain and Northern Europe, and it was also on the main land route from France to Spain, avoiding the Pyrenees. The city's prominence had been threatened when the River Adour changed its course, but in 1578, a canal had been dug to sustain it as a key centre of commerce and navigation. By the close of the sixteenth century, Bayonne was famous as a pocket of diversity and religious tolerance, and so a very good listening post.<sup>56</sup>

One Thomas Wilson (dates unknown) passed through Bayonne on the way home from a clandestine trip to Italy in 1603. There he met Cocks, perhaps for the first time.<sup>57</sup> Wilson, in London, received a flow of information from Cocks in Bayonne, though where it went onwards is not certain; though some of his secret dispatches were sent to the king, to whom Wilson commended Cocks as his "old acquaintance."<sup>58</sup> In 1605, Wilson entered Salisbury's service, as his secretary for foreign affairs, after which, if not before, Cocks's reports went to him. Necessarily, information on spies is scarce, and Salisbury was notoriously averse to "unsecrecy" or leakage.<sup>59</sup>

Salisbury had long used Bayonne as a hub of his informant network. In 1597, he had posted there an unnamed brother of Thomas Honeyman (dates unknown), the London merchant who undertook much undercover work for him. This brother, Salisbury noted, spent "10 monethes tarryinge, til now," before installing a successor and coming home.<sup>60</sup>

52 See Roehner 1990, p. 167.

53 This phrase is from Massarella 1990, pp. 139–41.

54 See Buchtel 2007, pp. 104–133.

55 Massarella 1985, p. 11.

56 Bard 1982, p. 103.

57 Massarella 1985, p. 13.

58 Farrington (ed.) 1991, p. 857. For the reports, see pp. 262, 541, 753 and 777; and Massarella 1985, p. 13.

59 Handover 1959, p. 104. It should also be noted that the Conciliar Papers (from the Privy Council) are lost for the years 1603–1613.

60 Stone 1956, p. 327.

Regrettably, we do not know the name of this man either, and the only name that comes up is “Rollerstone.” This was perhaps a code for Cocks; at least the dating fits perfectly. Salisbury called this “Rollerstone,” “a ffactor for Honyman and sendes his letteres to him who will bringe them accordinge to my discreccion,” and he received a £150 displacement allowance to set up, and then over £80 for each year of deployment.<sup>61</sup> This was a critical juncture because Salisbury’s former man in Bayonne, one Chateaumartin (dates unknown), who was officially the English consul in La Rochelle further up the coast, had just been revealed as a double-agent, and executed by Bayonne’s governor.<sup>62</sup> Cocks himself was then arrested for treason by the French, who claimed he was working to reassert England’s sovereignty over the city. The English ambassador to Spain, Sir Charles Cornwallis (d. 1629), had to step in, and the charge was soon dropped, though the Privy Council in London was obliged to issue letters to calm the waters.<sup>63</sup>

Cornwallis used and trusted Cocks to send classified documents home, as did Sir Thomas Parry (1566–1614), ambassador to France. Cornwallis strove hard to have Cocks nominated as English consul to Biscay.<sup>64</sup> Cocks seems to have envisaged his career developing along these lines, and he very much wanted the post not least for financial reasons. He found the rejection “sufficient to drive a man into a worser humour than ever was Timon of Athens.”<sup>65</sup> Disappointed, Cocks left France in 1608.

We do not know how Cocks moved from a Salisbury spy and aspiring consul to head the English factory in Japan.<sup>66</sup> Wilson regarded Cocks as “a man of honesty, yeares and judgment” and way above the “base pen clerks” and “mechanical dunces” that Salisbury often had to make do with.<sup>67</sup> He told the Privy Council that Cocks had “done His Majesty good service in foreign parts.”<sup>68</sup> The East India Company, aware of the delicacy of the Japan post, especially as regarding the Catholic presence, may have sought advice from Salisbury or his secretary, Wilson, and Cocks was an obvious choice. Cocks had proven himself to be a good linguist—Wilson compared him favourably with “vnlanguage’d” agents—which Japan would require, and within a few years of arriving in Hirado, Cocks would claim to be able to write in “the Japan tonge.”<sup>69</sup> By this time, however, Salisbury was declining, and would die while the *Clove* was at sea, so in fact the Cocks/Salisbury link came to rather little.<sup>70</sup> Wilson would be knighted for his services in 1618.

In Japan, Cocks was resolutely mum and discussed his past with no one, though he was proud of a stunning ring of gold with a white amethyst, worth £5, that he had acquired in Bayonne, and he occasionally made comparisons between Japan and France.<sup>71</sup> Far from the circles he had been in before, he nevertheless kept up his intellectual life reading books like Montaigne’s (1533–1592) *Essays* (1580; corrected and expanded, 1592), Richard

61 The core document, dubbed “Robert Cecil’s Intelligence Service in 1598,” is reproduced as Appendix III in Stone 1956, pp. 325–30. For the relevant section, see pp. 250 and 327.

62 Handover 1959, pp. 103 and 133; and Haynes 1989, pp. 31–32 (who writes the name as Chateau Martin).

63 Massarella 1985, pp. 27–28.

64 Massarella 1985, pp. 32–37.

65 Cocks to Wilson, 29.8.1606, quoted in Massarella 1985, p. 35.

66 The Court Minutes of the East India Company are lost for 1610–1613.

67 Wilson to James I, 1.9.1621, reproduced in Farrington (ed.) 1991, p. 857.

68 Letter of 20.6.1608, quoted in Massarella 1985, p. 37.

69 Cocks 1979–82, vol. 1, p. 108.

70 The *Clove* left the Downs in April 1611, and Salisbury died in May 1612.

71 Cocks 1979–82, vol. 1, p. 87 and vol. 2, pp. 34–35.



Knolles's (c. 1545–1610) *Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603) and St Augustine's (354–430) *City of God*—all core texts of the period. None of the other factors did anything like this (though Richard Wickham [dates unknown] possessed a copy of the schoolbook, *Suetonius' Lives of the Caesars*).<sup>72</sup> (Figure 1)

Having been informed of developments in Europe by this well-versed source, it would be singular if Addames had not passed the information on, directly or indirectly, to his acquaintances in the shogunate. Ieyasu had used Addames for just such information before: Addames wrote to his wife in about 1605, that Ieyasu “demanded of me of what land I was...I showed unto him the name of the country and that our land had long sought out the East Indies,” and, notably, “asked me divers other questions of things of religion.” Although he did not say when this first interview began, Addames wrote that he “abode with [Ieyasu] till midnight.”<sup>73</sup>

Addames's first letter sent with confidence of reaching its recipient, dates to early 1613, after he had heard the English had reached Bantam. It was addressed to Augustine Spalding (c. 1560–c. 1626), interpreter for the Company there, and Addames explained how he had met Ieyasu again and told him about “the King's Ma'ti of England” at which the ex-shogun “wass veery glad and rejoyced.”<sup>74</sup>

Within two days of the *Clove* docking in June 1613, Matsura Shigenobu 松浦鎮信 (1549–1614, grandfather of the daimyo, Takanobu, but still holding power), invited Saris and Cocks to dinner. The three of them toasted James I. Shigenobu sent cups to his retainers “that everie one of them did pledge the health.” England offered something that was dramatically alternative to the Iberians, but also to the Dutch, who had no king.<sup>75</sup> Addames, and then Saris and Cocks, established an identity for the English as subjects of an *anti-Catholic* and specifically *anti-Jesuit kingdom*, of which there was no other example.

Though Cocks would live in Japan as factory head for a decade, Saris was leader during his few months residence, and it was he who met Ieyasu and Hidetada in summer 1613, accompanied by Addames. In his first letter sent to the Company in London, Addames reported that Saris met Ieyasu, and once he had withdrawn, “the Emperour inquired of

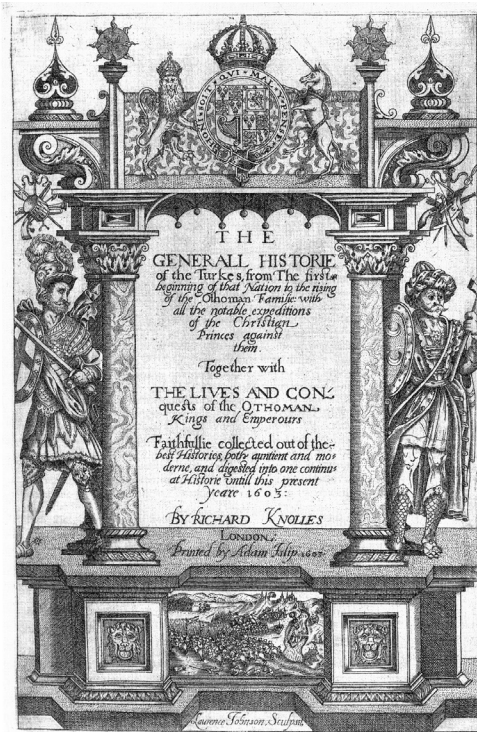


Figure 1. Richard Knolles. *Generall Historie of the Turkes* (London, 1603), title page. The British Library.

<sup>72</sup> Cocks 1979–82, vol. 1, pp. 83 and 194, and vol. 2, p. 13. For Suetonius, see Wickham to Eaton, 3.6.1613, in Farrington (ed.) 1991, p. 174.

<sup>73</sup> Addames to Mary, c. 1605, in Farrington (ed.) 1991, p. 54.

<sup>74</sup> Addames to Spalding, 12.1.1613, in Farrington (ed.) 1991, p. 76.

<sup>75</sup> Saris 1941, p. 152.

me of the King's M'tti of Inland, concerning his greatnes and poour, w'th divers other questiones w'ch wear to long to wright." There was "much speech heer and thear" and Ieyasu "seemed verry glad."<sup>76</sup> Addames had his up-to-date information, and most of it was deleterious to Catholics and Jesuits. It would have been timely for Ieyasu to ask about English monarchy and church, for a Spanish ambassador from Manila was expected imminently. It is intriguing that when the ambassador came, Ieyasu refused to see him, though he had been very convivial to those who had come in 1609 and 1611.<sup>77</sup>

Over the autumn of 1613, Ieyasu evidently sought to discover conditions in England, the situation of its state and crown and its attitude to the Catholic Church. In another quotation not well sourced, Ieyasu stated: "[T]he Europeans expel the fathers, therefore I can too."<sup>78</sup>

Cocks was the first in Japan with an intensely close grasp European politics and of the control of Catholicism. This evidence for what he transmitted, directly or via Saris and Addames is, I concede, not entirely concrete. But we will find much more solid information when the next batch of legislation came, in 1616.

### The Battle of Osaka Castle

The second node of importance in the period from late 1613 to mid 1616 is the Battle of Osaka Castle. Here too, the English played a role that has largely gone unrecognized, but was significant in building trust with the new shogunate. It has also been overlooked that Catholic priests assisted Hideyoshi's son, Toyotomi Hideyori 秀頼 (1593–1615). Osaka Castle, it was reported, was emblazoned with pennants on the walls and towers using Catholic symbols. As one of the priests later noted, "six great banners bore the devices, together with the Holy Cross, the images of the Saviour and St James."<sup>79</sup> The battle was a Tokugawa-Toyotomi engagement, but it had a subtext of Anglican *vs* Catholic Christianity.

The role played by new armaments in the destruction of Osaka has long been recognized; many of these were supplied by the English. Screens made to commemorate the



Figure 2. Anon. "Ōsaka fuyu no jin natsu no jin zu byōbu" 大坂冬の陣夏の陣図屏風, detail of part of folding screens. Gold and colour on paper. Reproduced from *Tokubetsuten: Toyotomi ki Ōsaka zu byōbu: Keikan to fūzoku o meguru* 特別展: 豊臣期大坂図屏風: 景観と風俗をめぐる (Osaka Castle Museum, 2009), p. 27.

<sup>76</sup> Addames's contract with the Company, dated 24.11.1613, is in Farrington (ed.) 1991, pp. 94–95. See also, Saris 1941, p. 99. For Saris, see Satow 1900, p. viii. Addames to English East India Company, 1.12.1613, is in Farrington (ed.) 1991, pp. 104–105.

<sup>77</sup> Saris 1941, p. 195. The former figure was Rodrigo Vivero y Velasco, and the latter, Sebastián Vizcaíno. See Kuno 1937, where many relevant diplomatic documents are translated, pp. 295–307.

<sup>78</sup> Boxer 1967, p. 311, quoting without clear source.

<sup>79</sup> For the banners, see Morejon (1616) as repeated in Murdoch and Yamagata 1903, vol. 2, p. 524. Boxer (1967, p. 383) states there were seven padres in the castle, and the editors of Cocks's Diary, gives two Jesuits, two Franciscans, one Augustinian and two Japanese priests. See Cocks 1979–82, vol. 1, p. 11, n. 30.



victory reveal gunners very clearly.<sup>80</sup> (Figure 2) This was not the first time guns had been used in battle in Japan, but they were still uncommon. The Japanese could manufacture calivers (*tanegashima* 種子島), the lightest type of arquebus, but not muskets, nor large ordnance.<sup>81</sup> What though of the source of their powder and shot? It was precisely these items that were the main merchandise of the English factory, after cloth. Addames had told Saris and Cocks, as soon as he saw the *Clove's* cargo bill, that he was confident Ieyasu would buy their war goods, and ultimately he did.<sup>82</sup>

The *Clove* left almost 10,000 cubic litres of gunpowder. 1,000 was about enough to blow up a castle. It also left 12,000 kg of lead and 550 kg of tin, also six cannon, one, at almost a tonne, exceptionally large. Muskets had not been predicted as a saleable commodity, so none had come, but the English learned quickly, and when their second ship, the *Hozlander*, arrived in the summer of 1615, it had over 16,000 kg of lead, with ninety one guns, as well as 408 knives (though no gunpowder).<sup>83</sup> But it was too late: Osaka Castle had just fallen.

Imported English ordnance and munitions can be traced through the factory's correspondence.<sup>84</sup> In January 1614, a month after Saris sailed from Japan, Cocks dispatched Richard Wickham to open a sub-factory in Edo. He took woollens (both rough broadcloth and fine kerseys), and 10% of the factory's powder, along with 600 bars of lead and all the ordnance, including the large cannon. Altogether, this was worth some £250; the entire factory stock was only some £5,650. Cocks advised selling the powder at once, as it was "a dangerouse comoditie to be kept, & therefore make dispatch."<sup>85</sup> But by next April, nothing had gone. Another sub-factory was opened at Osaka by William Eaton (dates unknown) who wrote to Wickham, in Edo, that he had learned from Addames how Ieyasu was minded to buy several items, but "had not given aney direct answer for the having of the ordnance & gunpowder," though Addames was "in good hoope that hee will take them."<sup>86</sup>

At the end of May, Ieyasu came through. Wickham wrote to Cocks in Hirado that Ieyasu would buy all the lead, at a very good price ("more than he ever gave the Portugalls"), and had commanded that all powder and ordnance "rest at Edoe untill we heare further from him whether he will take it when he comes."<sup>87</sup> Wickham made a canny link: "[T]here have bin never so much warr or comotions stirring in the Empire at any time in man's remembrance, as I ame credibly informed."<sup>88</sup>

The attack on Osaka was to be a surprise. Rumours of impending conflict may have spread in Edo and Sunpu, but in Osaka, there was such confidence in continuing peace

80 Hall 1991, p. 147. For the screen, see [http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/1/18/The\\_Siege\\_of\\_Osaka\\_Castle.jpg/400px-The\\_Siege\\_of\\_Osaka\\_Castle.jpg](http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/1/18/The_Siege_of_Osaka_Castle.jpg/400px-The_Siege_of_Osaka_Castle.jpg).

81 For the terminology, see Saris 1941, p. 178; and Cocks 1979–82, vol. 1, p. 37 and vol. 2, p. 62. For gunnery in Japan more generally, see Perrin 1979; and Chaiklin 2003, pp. 149–72.

82 Saris 1941, p. 173.

83 These are military supplies only. For the full list of items, see Farrington (ed.) 1991, pp. 5–6.

84 This was first pointed out by Murdoch and Yamagata 1903, vol. 2, p. 524, and was repeated by Paske-Smith 1930, p. 26. It has been cited in passing by those who have used those sources, though the matter has not previously received full investigation. Murdoch and Yamagata (1903) make further claims about English ordnance, p. 524, n. 9, but they are not substantiated.

85 Farrington (ed.) 1991, pp. 125 and 128. For total factory assets, see Farrington (ed.) 1991, p. 10.

86 Eaton to Wickham, 20.4.1614, in Farrington (ed.) 1991, p. 145.

87 Wickham to Cocks, 26.4.1614, in Farrington (ed.) 1991, p. 149.

88 Wickham to Cocks, 25.5.1614, in Farrington (ed.) 1991, p. 163.

that Eaton gave up on sales. In June, he wrote to Cocks, that “the powder I had heare I have sente it backe to Friando [Hirado], & for my lead, I doe purpose to send it to you by the first barke that cometh [*sic*, goeth] thence from hense. For heare it will not sell.”<sup>89</sup> The Toyotomi suspected nothing.

In late June, after almost one year of vacillation, a market for powder, shot and cannon abruptly opened. It was to Addames, with his connections to the Tokugawa that the order came. Wickham was able to confirm that, through Addames, he had sold all the ordnance and munitions, and “it is well sold.” Also, “newes here is none but that the Emperour will goe to Meaco in October next to visit his goastly father the Dayry there [i.e. his spiritual father the *dairi* (emperor)].”<sup>90</sup> This was a ruse: the trip to Miyako would lead on to Osaka.

Having sent his powder and lead back to Hirado, however, Eaton noticed an alteration in Osaka. He wrote to Cocks in October: “[H]eare is greate inquire now for gunpowder, & would sell at a goode priyse. I wishe I had all you have at Firando heare, etc.” To emphasise, he wrote again, three days later, that gunpowder “is still verey much sought after,” and “if you have not sold it before this come to your handes it would not be amise... to send it awaye for Sakeye [Sakai, port of Osaka] w<sup>th</sup> all expedition.”<sup>91</sup> The Toyotomi, it seems, had belatedly realized what was afoot, and were equipping.

In November, Wickham and Addames sailed to Patani, exporting Japanese arms to the value of £100. It would now be too late to get ships through to Sakai, and there are no letters from Eaton, who may have evacuated Osaka. Word was out across the land and Cocks in Hirado heard an attack was projected, for “here is som rumor of wars lyke to ensue in Japan betwixt Ogusho Same [Ōgoshō sama 大御所様, Ieyasu], the Emperour that now is, and Fidaia Sama [Hideyori]... sonne to Ticus Same [Taikō sama 太閤様, Hideyoshi] the deceased Emperour.”<sup>92</sup>

On 10 December, Cocks used an out-going Dutch vessel to write up that year’s crop of letters, and in an appraisal of the situation for John Jourdain, overall English Company head in Asia, he noted: Ieyasu “is com downe in p<sup>sn</sup> w<sup>th</sup> a mightie army as farr as Fuchma [Fushimi] to bringe in Fidaia Sama.” He sent this same information to the Earl of Salisbury (though Salisbury was in fact dead).<sup>93</sup> Osaka was besieged less than three weeks later, on 19th day of the 11th month. The Winter Campaign ended in stalemate. A peace treaty allowed the Tokugawa to fill in some castle moats, after which they re-launched their attack in early summer.

It is impossible now to reconstruct exactly how crucial the English items were to the fall of Osaka. But Cocks reported he was later told by a shogunal official, “he would rather have one of those [ordnance] cast in England than ten of such as were ever cast in Japan.”<sup>94</sup> And even beyond the big guns, it appears that at Osaka the Tokugawa culivers were firing with English powder and shot.

One reason for Osaka’s unexpectedly easy fall may have been unequal fire power. Another was in-filling of the moats. A third was that the Toyotomi were depleted, for the

89 Eaton to Wickham, 3.6.1614, in Farrington (ed.) 1991, p. 170.

90 Wickham to Eaton and Cocks, 24.6.1614, in Farrington (ed.) 1991, pp. 185 and 187. Europeans would come to refer to the *dairi* as the “spiritual emperor,” in contrast to the “temporal emperor” or shogun.

91 Eaton to Cocks, 27 and 30.10.1614, in Farrington (ed.) 1991, pp. 215–16.

92 Cocks to Denton, 25.11.1614, in Farrington (ed.) 1991, p. 235.

93 Cocks to Jourdain, Saris and Salisbury, all 10.12.1614, in Farrington (ed.) 1991, pp. 246, 252 and 257.

94 Paske-Smith 1930, p. 27.

Great Exile of six months before had seen two of their foremost loyalists, Naitō Jo'an and Takayama Ukon, go abroad. The new daimyo of Takatsuki, succeeding the exiled Ukon, was Naitō Nobumasa 内藤信正 (1568–1626). With neat symbolism, he was chosen to deal with the gory aftermath of Osaka. Hideyori's seven year old brother, Kunimatsu 国松 (1608–1615), was seized and executed, and although history concludes that the prize figure, Hideyori, died during the battle, at the time it was widely bruited that had it he escaped to safety. "Many *tonos* [daimyo]," wrote Cocks (who was good on hearsay), "were gon to hym to take his part" since people "affectt the young man [Hideyori] more than the ould [Ieyasu]." It was variously claimed that Hideyori was with the emperor (*dairi*), or was in the Ryukyus from where the daimyo of Satsuma was gathering forces to restore him.<sup>95</sup> This was taken seriously in Edo. For at least a year, Hidetada personally saw to the torture of anyone who might know of Hideyori's whereabouts, and the general mopping up of Toyotomi supporters continued for many years.<sup>96</sup>

Crucially, just as the English assisted the Tokugawa, so it was rumoured the *bateren* aided the Toyotomi, and the putative escape of Hideyori. Wickham, now in Sunpu, reported "the priests [are] much suspected to have carried him away." This increased Ieyasu's newfound opposition to the Jesuits, and "the Emperor cannot endue to heare of them."<sup>97</sup> Days later, we find Cocks meeting an unnamed official of Ōmura Yoshiaki 大村喜前 (1569–1616), daimyo of Ōmura. Yoshiaki's father, Sumitada 純忠 (1533–1587), had donated Nagasaki to the Jesuit order, and surmizing the official to be himself a Jesuit, Cocks, "gave hym a tast[e], that we had nothing to doe w'th the Pope, but exteemed hym only bushop of Rome, having other bushops in England of as much authority as he tuching spiretuall matters; & that we esteemed not much whether he were our frend or enemy, w'ch we left to his choise."<sup>98</sup> No opportunity was lost to place England and its church in opposition to the Jesuits and theirs.

A memorial day was established for the victory at Osaka, and this became an important event in the Tokugawa calendar. Allocated to the 5th day of the 5th month, the commemoration was arbitrary in terms of the battle but coincided with the Iris, or Boys' Festival, used to inculcate martial spirit in youth. Most significantly, the 5th day of the 5th was used for another commemoration, that of the defeat of the Mongol attacks of 1274 and 1281 by a divine wind. Throughout the Edo period, Europeans would be expected to endorse the multiple celebrations of 5th day of the 5th month, in praise of Japanese warrior spirit and its freedom from overseas menace.<sup>99</sup> We will return to this link between Osaka, the divine wind, and the Europeans, since it also implicates the English.

In the weeks after the fall of Osaka Castle, rumor spread of the arrest and imprisonment of the Spanish ambassador to England. This most unusual act had been necessary "for treason pretended against the King's majestie and state." Shortly after, the *Hojiander* docked and its captain, Ralph Coppindale (dates unknown) made a trip to Edo and Sunpu, accompanied by Addames, to give gifts to Ieyasu, Hidetada and other dignitaries. Sadly,

95 Cocks 1979–82, vol. 1, pp. 244 and 260. Cocks was sceptical of the rumors.

96 For example, Cocks 1979–82, pp. 223 and 305.

97 Wickham Jourdain, 13.10.1615, in Farrington (ed.) 1991, p. 314.

98 Cocks 1979–82, vol. 1, pp. 37–38. See also Cocks 1979–82, vol. 1, p. 27, n. 63.

99 The chief of the Dutch Company would congratulate the governor of Nagasaki on this day, see Viallé and Blussé (eds.) 2001–date, vol. 11, p. 67.

there are no details of discussions, yet something was evidently put across, for as soon as his audience was over Ieyasu acted again against the *bateren*. Despite the new policy of 1613–1614, priests were still active in Japan—even in Edo. Although he had ignored this fact for twenty months, Ieyasu now suddenly moved. Interestingly, he selected Addames as his intermediary, sending him to interrogate the Jesuits as to their purposes.<sup>100</sup>

Coppindale returned to Hirado on 8 October, so there may be a link to a letter that Cocks sent to Wickham in Edo on 14th. He told him that he “may lawfully say that the King of Spain usurpeth Portingall by force and keepeth the rightful heirs out, as he does the like in other parts of the world, and would do the like in Japon, if he could, and the padres are fit instruments to stir the people to rebellion.” The point, seemingly, was that Coppindale had told the shogunate of this, so there was no need for the other factors to refrain.<sup>101</sup>

From late 1613 through early 1614, and now on into the summer of 1615, a series of disjunctions with previous practice appears in shogunal policy, affecting *bateren* and *kirishitan*. Throughout there is a sustained undercurrent of English involvement.

### Jesuit Regicide

The English sought not only to spread reports of Jesuit malfeasance in Europe but to suggest the same would happen in Japan. It was no longer an issue of invasion by the Catholic nations, but of what the priests, in Japan, might do. In point of fact, the Jesuits in Japan did not overtly seek to destroy anything. Indeed, in the time of Hideyoshi, they were already offering “continuous masses and prayers” for his “good success and prosperous outcome.”<sup>102</sup> As also claimed in Europe, Jesuit policy was to support kings. But it was qualified, and the Jesuit decision, if such it was, to support the Toyotomi over the Tokugawa at Osaka, and to secrete Hideyori to safety, was an error. Their attitude towards authority was, to say the least, nuanced; but it was fully theorized. In 1598, the Spanish Jesuit Juan de Mariana (1536–1624) published *de Rege et regis institutione* (On the king and the education of the king) in which he argued regicide was acceptable, where a king was a “tyrant,” the definition of which was that they had been declared so by Rome.<sup>103</sup> Mariana praised Henry III’s assassin, because of the king’s perceived pro-Protestant stance. It is true that Mariana’s argument was regarded as extreme, but it was widely read.

The underlying notion was the Jesuit philosophy of “reasons of state,” first articulated in 1589 by Giovanni Botero (c. 1544–1617), in broad assessment of the proper role of Jesuits in the political process, entitled *Della ragion di stato*.<sup>104</sup> Botero observed that the maintenance of peace sometimes included the need for covert action and *dissimulation*. As the Jesuits always sought out centres of power, in Japan as elsewhere, they were often accused

100 Cocks 1979–82, vol. 1, pp. 119 and 122–23. Coppindale’s letter informing Cocks does not survive. His encounter with Ieyasu is noted in Gotō (attrib.) 1911, p. 314.

101 Cocks to Wickham, 14.10.1615, in Farrington (ed.) 1991, p. 324.

102 Luis Frois, *Historia de Japam* (late 16c), quoted in Elisonas 1992, p. 360.

103 The information in this and the following two paragraphs is derived from Mousnier 1973, esp. pp. 27–60 and 213–28; and Höpfel 2004, pp. 314–38. Both authors absolve the Jesuits, and Mousnier (p. 228) offers: “Our general conclusion must be that the Jesuits never organised any attempt on Henry IV’s life, or incited anyone to kill him.” See also Fumaroli 1980, pp. 234–45.

104 A cursory introduction can be found in Takase 1993, pp. 198–209, where “reason of state” is rendered *kokka risei* 国家理性.

of Machiavellian *realpolitik*, and, in effect, of devising a philosophy of manipulation and deceit, called “reasons of state,” but the “state” that the Jesuits were furthering, was actually their own Society, not the government of the land. In Japan, the Jesuit Cristovão Ferreira (c. 1580–1650) invoked this. He also noted that their use of “*rezão de estado*” had not been appreciated by the shogunate, who were informed of the philosophy behind it by the North European “heretics” (surely the English as the Dutch had not done so), and which amounted to one reason for the Tokugawa ban on Jesuit activity.<sup>105</sup> A Japanese apostate also explained the conflict of interest between civil authority and the interests of the Jesuit order in a Japanese idiom: the Jesuits unbalanced the mutuality of the “Buddha’s Dharma and the King’s [viz, shogun’s] Law” (*buppō ōbō* 仏法王法), placing the one over the other.<sup>106</sup>

“Reasons of state” worked from inside. It was not open rebellion, but was covert, and it too came with a philosophical underlay in the theory of the Mental Reservation (*restrictio mentalis*). Statements were clouded in deliberate ambiguity—whence the term “Jesuitical”—so as to make it appear the speaker was saying something he was not, or not saying something he was. *Rezão de estado* required a finessing of content without lying, which was forbidden by the Ten Commandments. It was never clear where the speaker stood. The Mental Reservation was particularly used in England, where hidden Catholic priests were banned, but would not wish to reveal themselves under interrogation. Not all Jesuits supported this, but many advised that “no one is bound to confess his faith to someone who questions him, if it means endangering his life.”<sup>107</sup> Not confessing meant finding a way to deny it without actually lying. The Jesuits called this “amphibology.”<sup>108</sup> It served as a way to side-step all manner of challenges and charges.

Ferreira apostacized while in Japan, and after his denial of Christ he explained the Mental Reservation in a commentary on the Ten Commandments, written in Japanese, imputing the reservation to all believers: “If you meet a Christian and ask him whether or not he is a Christian, he will not deny it but, equivocating (*kotoba o magirakashite* 詞ヲマギラカシテ), will reply in a form of words that appears to imply he is not. This is what they are trained to do. They, every one of them, turn falsehood into the basis of meaning.”<sup>109</sup> In fact, the very first act of Jesuit missionary consolidation in the town that became their center, Nagasaki, was in this mode. When the order established its first church there in 1569, they ‘dissimulated’ (Port: *dissimular*). The ‘church’ was a disused temple, but rather than removing the Buddhist icons and replacing them with Christian ones, the Jesuits left the pieces in place, hoodwinking the congregation into thinking the message that they were preaching was concordant with, not oppositional to, that of the prior-occupants; Gaspar Vilela openly wrote, “I dissimulated, gathering all the heathens of the land, who heard my sermon. The first time they were not very satisfied, but the second time they grasped the

105 Ferreira to Jesuit College, 18.3.1621, quoted in Cieslik 1974, pp. 1–54. Note, however, that references to Northern heretics also implicate the Dutch.

106 Habian 1970, p. 441: Christians “seek to overthrow and seize the country and obliterate *buppō ōbō* 仏法王法.” The more normal phrase is *ōbō buppō* 王法仏法. A translation of this work is included in Ellison 1991, pp. 257–92. Translations here are my own. Höpfl 2004 is largely concerned with the issue of “reasons of state” (*ratio status*).

107 Höpfl 2004, p. 142, n. 7.

108 Fülöp-Miller 1930, pp. 154–55.

109 Sawano 1927, pp. 11–12. A translation of this work is included in Ellison 1991, pp. 293–318. Translations here are my own.

true knowledge.” The policy therefore worked and, “in this way in the first year all of them, who must be 1500 people, were baptised.” Only then his did Vilela “dismantle the pagode [i.e. temple] and I made a very gracious Church of All Saints in it.”<sup>110</sup> This propensity did not go unnoticed in Japan. When Carlo Spinola (1554–1622) was apprehended going about in concealing garments near Hirado (perhaps because of his proximity of the Dutch and English factories), he was interrogated on behalf of the Japanese authorities by an apostate named João or Heizō. Spinola was asked, “how can the Christian clerics go so far as to pretend and disguise themselves?” Apparently an Englishman was present, and he butted in that such “is the habitual way with these priests.” Spinola sought to explain the difference between denying one’s status as a priest, which as acceptable to the Jesuits, and denying Christ, which was not. He added for good measure that “in England priests did not conceal that they were priests,” and that he himself had been there and proclaimed that he was a Jesuit, “and many other brothers have done so too, which had cost them their lives.”<sup>111</sup> If it was no longer possible to trust what was said—if, in Japanese terminology, truth (*shin* 信) were lost, government could not function, never mind whether or not treason was contemplated. This may have been what Ieyasu meant when he told the Viceroy, as quoted above, that Christianity was “distinct.” Ieyasu said he could not detect in it the quintet of Japanese religious desiderata: benevolence, virtue, rites, knowledge and truth (*jin gi rei chi shin* 仁義礼智信), that kept the law and the dharma equipoised.<sup>112</sup>

It was therefore of no relevance if the Jesuits supported the state with words, or even with Masses, since they were authorized to utter things that they did not, in fact, believe in. The tendency of priests to lie was not a generalized defamation offered by Japanese who were opposed to the missions. But actually, it was a specific, and even accurate, contention, leveled by a shogunate that understood more than it is usually given credit for.

Active Jesuits did not release such information, so someone else had. Cocks was on hand to offer comment on Catholic priests and their wives. The Japanese authorities asked him repeatedly about this, so often that even he came to think “yt is strang to see how often they sent to me about this matter.”<sup>113</sup> The shogunate continued to ask such questions over the years in relation to England, even after closure of the factory. Ferreira volunteered, as late as 1643, that “the Pope is doing his best to depose those kings who are not Roman Catholic, which can be proved by examples old and new, like that of Queen Elizabeth of England and others.”<sup>114</sup> A later Dutch factory chief, Pieter Overtwater (c. 1610–1682), noted that Jesuit intervention in the English monarchy “has always caused the Japanese authorities the greatest concern.”<sup>115</sup>

110 Compañía de Jesús (ed.). *Cartasque los Padres y Hermanos de la Compañía de Jesúsqueandan en los Reyes de Japón*, 1575, 312 v. I am grateful to Carla Tronu Montane for this reference.

111 Pierre François-Xavier de Charlevoix. *Histoire de l’établissement, des progrès et de la décadence du Chistianisme dans l’Empire du Japon* (Royen, 1715; 2nd ed., Bibliothèque Catholique de Belgique, 1828–29), 2 vols. Vol. 2, pp. 351–52. It needs to be stated that not all Charlevoix’s stories are readily authenticable.

112 Shimizu 1977, p. 282.

113 Cocks to East India Company, London, 1.1.1617, in Farrington (ed.) 1991, p. 554.

114 In 1643, see Viallé and Blussé (eds.) 2001–date, vol. 11, pp. 104–105.

115 Viallé and Blussé (eds.) 2001–date, vol. 11, pp. 104–105. The first citation also appears (differently translated) in Elison 1991, p. 200.



### The Spanish Armada

Ieyasu died in 1616. Four weeks later, two English ships docked at Hirado, on 21 June and 12 July respectively.<sup>116</sup> Most of the cargo was woollens, but the factors knew that the market was saturated, not least as the Spanish and Portuguese had begun carrying English cloth to Japan too, perhaps trying to render English operations insolvent.<sup>117</sup> The ships, the *Thomas* and *Advice*, also brought an array of test items, such as mirrors, paper, small ceramic jars and, curiously enough, a large number of prints and paintings. Much of the visual material can best be described as anti-Catholic propaganda, and—a linked theme—the glorification of England, its crown and its church.<sup>118</sup>

The Hirado factory accounts are not complete (they never were, and Cocks would be reprimanded for it), but at this point they log in a large number of pictures, several referred to as *The English and Spanish Fleets*, and one the *Ark Royal*.<sup>119</sup> (Figures 3, 4) These refer to the Spanish Armada and Sir Francis Drake's (1540–1596) flagship. Three more pictures are referred to as *Seafights in ão 88*, that is, *anno* 1588, the year of the Armada, and four more as *Cales Voyage*, or the Earl of Essex's (1565–1601) bravura seizure of Cadiz ("Cales"), in retaliation for the Spanish seizure of Calais (then claimed by the English); Essex had declared it "Her Majesty's city of Cales" and celebrated the first time Englishmen had stood on the Spanish mainland as



Figure 3. Anon. *The defeat of the Spanish Armada*, number 8 in a series (of 12?). Copperplate etching. C. 1588–90. The British Museum.

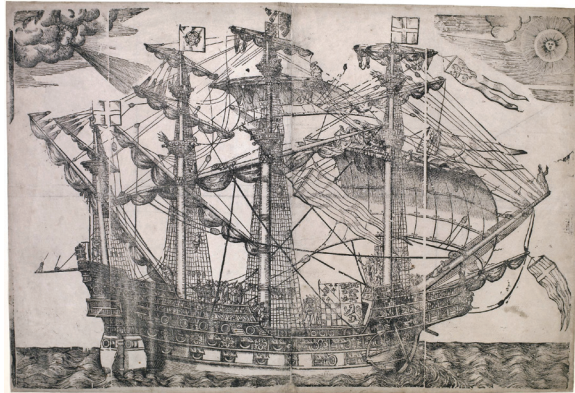


Figure 4. Anon. *The Ark Royal*. Copperplate etching. C. 1590. The British Museum.

<sup>116</sup> The *Thomas* was part of the Fourth Company sailing, and left England in spring 1614, while the *Advice* (formerly the *Judith*) left that December with the smaller *Attendant*, which was captured by the Dutch, its crew imprisoned, and the ship taken to Nagasaki in 1618. Though returned to the English in 1622, it was unfit for use.

<sup>117</sup> Cocks to Gourney, 10.12.1615, and to East India Company, London, 25.2.1616, in Farrington (ed.) 1991, pp. 362 and 379.

<sup>118</sup> I have attempted to reconstruct the voyage and this cargo in Screech 2005, pp. 50–72.

<sup>119</sup> Farrington (ed.) 1991, pp. 1283–84 and 1391.



conquerors.<sup>120</sup> Prices are given, and are highly diverse, from a few pence to £3, suggesting that a range of recipients was intended.

When he first talked to Ieyasu, in 1600, Addames is likely to have mentioned the Armada. No Englishman of his generation could have failed to, and Addames had even served at the time, possibly as master of a supply ship that went out against the Spanish. Addames had also married a year later, in the anniversary month of August, 1589.<sup>121</sup> Now the English had attractive pictorial data to add to reminiscence and anecdote.

To announce this third English arrival, Cocks himself travelled to Edo, for the first time, in late August. This means an experienced, and by now culturally attuned person represented the factory. Cocks, as we have seen, was a cut far above Addames in intellectual attainments, though Addames accompanied. Cocks recorded meeting many of the top figures in the shogunate, and although he was not accorded an interview with Hidetada, he met “Ando Tushma Dono,” that is, no less a figure than Andō Shigenobu 安藤重信 (1557–1621), one of Ieyasu’s closest advisors. Andō had fought with Ieyasu at Osaka, been richly rewarded, and was now a major influence on Hidetada. Cocks’s diary reveals that he also went to visit Shigenobu, but finding him out, left a present, which was “a map...88,” that is, a picture of the Spanish Armada. Cocks “tould his man I would cum & vizet hym when I knew he was at home,” which he did, two days later, finding Shigenobu there and in the company of Sakai Tadayo 酒井忠世 (1572–1636), another *éminence grise* to the Tokugawa, whom Cocks correctly identified as one of the “3 cheefe men next to the Emperour.” The others present were Honda Masazumi and Doi Toshikatsu. As stated before, Saris had given Masazumi £15 worth of presents (mostly cloth) in Edo, and four days before calling on Shigenobu, Cocks had sent a present (unspecified) to Toshikatsu.<sup>122</sup> Cocks now thanked Shigenobu and Tadayo for “the paynes taken in our affares,” and promised them “anything out of England they pleased to guee me noted of.” Both men “took my visetation kindly.”<sup>123</sup>

The holds of the *Thomas* and *Advice* yielded other pictures, but we should first consider the Spanish Armada, its surrounding history, and its impact in Japan.

In 1582, Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606), the Jesuit Visitor, had arranged a legation from Christianized Japan to visit Rome.<sup>124</sup> Four Japanese “ambassadors” (boy converts, not accredited by the Japanese state) reached Europe two years later. They were received by Philip II at the new Escorial, being used by him to begin planning the armada against England; though we cannot tell if that was discussed.<sup>125</sup>

The embassy arrived in Rome in March 1585, and made a splash. Tintoretto was offered 2,000 ducats to paint the boys’ portraits (though he did not fulfil the commission).<sup>126</sup> Gregory XIII (1502–1585) wept and kissed them (three; one was ill) on both cheeks. They were made Roman citizens and Papal Knights. It would have escaped

120 Farrington (ed.) 1991, pp. 1417 and 1424; and Handover 1959, p. 137. Essex was Robert Devereaux, favorite of Elizabeth, though executed in 1601.

121 See above, n. 50.

122 Saris 1941, p. 171.

123 Cocks 1979–82, vol. 1, pp. 296 and 298. Cocks calls Tadayo “Wotto Dono,” Masazumi “Codskin Dono,” and Toshikatsu “Oyen Dono.”

124 The factual information in this and the following paragraphs is indebted to Cooper 2005. All interpretations are my own.

125 For planning of the Armada, see Howarth 2001, pp. 33–45.

126 Cooper 2005, p. 116.

no one that as Gregory the Great had converted England, Japan was being converted by Gregory XIII.<sup>127</sup> Gregory had England on his mind, for he had unnecessarily reissued the excommunication of Elizabeth.<sup>128</sup> England was an explicit point of comparison during the Japanese visit, and in a formal Latin oration the famous Jesuit Gaspar Gonçalves (dates unknown) expressed the sentiment that Rome would make up for the defection of England by the gaining of Japan, “thus compensating for that great loss with no less a gain.”<sup>129</sup> The boys would certainly have had the orator’s words explained to them. This embassy was known of in London too, though only later.<sup>130</sup> After returning to Japan, two of the boys fled to Macau in the Great Exile, and one renounced his faith; Cocks met him after his apostasy. The fourth was preaching until killed in 1633.<sup>131</sup>

A balance between the little string of islands on the edge of Europe and that on the edge of Asia was good rhetoric, but there was a stronger parallel: the strange equivalence of the *kamikaze* and the storm that had saved England from the Spanish Armada. Deliverance by what came to be called the “Protestant Wind” was much discussed as a theological point. The date of the defining Battle of Gravelines on 8 August provided a sonorous 8/8/88 that seemed beyond chance, indicating the workings of Providence. Scholars conflated passages from scripture to come up with *flavit Jehova et dissipati sunt*, which was written on an Armada Medal struck in thanksgiving.<sup>132</sup> In the nineteenth century, this was inscribed on the Armada Memorial in Plymouth, as “He blew with His winds and they were scattered.”<sup>133</sup>

A connection between Japan and the Protestant Wind occurred just nine weeks after the event itself. In 1587, as Thomas Cavendish (1560–1592) sailed past Baja California in the *Desire*, attempting to replicate Drake’s circumnavigation of 1579, he captured a Spanish ship, the *Santa Anna*. Cavendish seized the ship and deposited the crew ashore, except for five boys, three Filipinos and two Japanese, plus one adult of Portuguese nationality, retained because he was familiar with Japan. These people were landed at Plymouth when the voyage returned, on 10 October 1588.<sup>134</sup> They also caused a stir. It simply cannot be that they were not informed of the Armada, and it is unlikely that the two Japanese, known only by their baptismal names as Cosmos and Christopher and described as literate, failed to make an association with the *kamikaze*. They would have been instructed in a variety of matters relating to England since the intent was to use them on a voyage East, which was already being planned. The six people then disappear from the record, except one unnamed Filipino, said to have entered into the service of the Earl of Essex, Robert Devereux, who had grown up with Robert Cecil (later the Earl of Salisbury, mentioned above). Essex had just become favorite of Queen Elizabeth, for whom he would later capture Cadiz.<sup>135</sup> We do

127 Cooper 2005, p. 116.

128 Loades 2007, p. 150.

129 Loades 2007, p. 90.

130 A letter containing the information was sent to Salisbury (deceased) by Cocks, 10.12.1614, in Farrington (ed.) 1991, p. 257.

131 Cieslik 1974, p. 16. Cocks met Michael Chijiwa (n. 146 above). Viallé and Blussé (eds.) 2001–date, vol. 12, p. 248.

132 The source of this phrase seems to be conflated from *Exodus* 15:10–12, *Wisdom* 5:22–23 and *Isaiah* 41:16.

133 The monument was erected in 1888, the copy of a slightly earlier one by Sir Joseph Boehm in Tavistock.

134 Hakluyt (1589–1600) 1904, vol. 11, p. 327, who gives the name as “Cosmus.”

135 Massarella 1990, p. 67. Hakluyt (1904, vol. 11, p. 327) refers to the countess, not earl, but there was no Countess of Essex in 1589 the widow of the first earl (Walter), Lettice, née Knowles, having remarried the Earl of Leicester, while the second earl, the one referred to here, did not marry until 1590, to Frances, née Walsingham; perhaps the boy worked elsewhere for eighteen months and entered the Essex household on his marriage.

not know if Cosmos and Christopher returned to Japan, but there is talk of “Indians from London” living in Bantam in 1612, and as they asked to be taken to Japan, this presumably means East Indians, and that Japan was their home. Saris met them *en route* to Japan, but would “carry none of them with me, for they are the worse for being in England.”<sup>136</sup>

## The Gunpowder Plot

Among the other pictures in the *Thomas and Advice* were at least five with the title of *The King in Parliament* (Figures 5, 6). All were medium priced, at under 5/- (£0.25). Cocks named the recipient of just one of these: a mere four days after arrival of the *Advice* (three weeks after the *Thomas*), he gave the daimyo of Hira-do, Matsura Takanobu, “1 map king in p'rliament” among other things.<sup>137</sup> This theme would have shown James I in Whitehall, surrounded by his lords and commons, referring to the foiled assassination attempt by Guy Fawkes (1560–1606) and accomplices, in the famous Gunpowder Plot of 5 November 1605.<sup>138</sup> Salisbury, who was raised to his earldom that year, had played a crucial role in this, and promoted the story of his prescience. Fawkes had hidden gunpowder in the cellars of parliament, intending to ignite it when James opened session. The edict expelling the Jesuits from England had been issued on 5 November 1602, and this attempt, on the very same day, seemed to prove Jesuit complicity.<sup>139</sup> The event was described as “the most horrible treason ... which howsoever cloaked with zeal of Superstitious Religion, aimed indeed at the subversion of the state.”<sup>140</sup> By chance—or was it an act of God?—the powder was discovered, and Crown and Church were saved. A law was passed expelling (once again) all “Jesuits, seminaries, friars or any other priests, whatsoever, regular or secular, being made

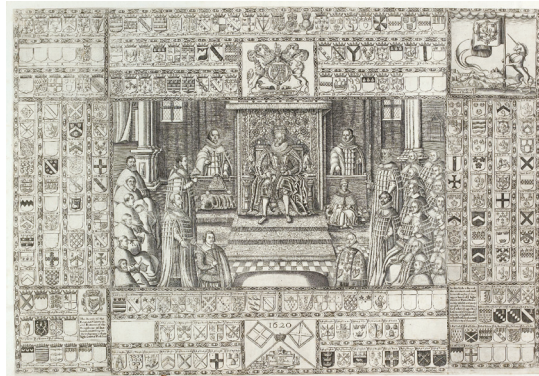


Figure 5. Renold Elstrack. *King James in Parliament*. Copperplate etching. 1604 (2nd edition, 1620). The British Museum.



Figure 6. After Samuel Ward. *The Double Deliverance: 1588, 1605*. Copperplate etching. 1621. The British Museum.

136 See Saris to Edward Camden, 10.12.1612, in Foster (ed.) 1896, vol. 1, p. 204.

137 Cocks 1979–82, vol. 1, p. 268.

138 British children are still taught the rhyme: “Please to remember/The fifth of November/With gunpowder treason and plot/I see no good reason/Why gunpowder treason/Ever should be forgot!” Guy Fawkes Day, also called Bonfire Night, is celebrated annually.

139 Loades 2007, p. 260, n. 8.

140 A Stuart Royal Proclamation, quoted in Loades 2007, p. 234.

by authority of the Church of Rome,” and some fifty went into exile.<sup>141</sup> There were no expulsions of the laity, though a clause was inserted into the oath of loyalty to the English crown required of Catholics confirming that the pope had no authority to depose kings in the phrase: “I doe from my heart abhorre, detest & abiure [regicide of “tyrants”].”<sup>142</sup> Expulsion of priests and relative tolerance of lay believers is an approach that matches the general attitude in Japan at the same time.

Along with the defeat of the “invincible” Armada, timely detection of the Gunpowder Plot was the key to England’s sense of itself as a free Crown and Church, anti-Catholic and specifically anti-Jesuit. It was one of the means by which the English factors projected their country overseas. Richard Kerridge (dates unknown), undertaking similar work to Cocks at the Mughal court, also encountered a polity infiltrated by Jesuits. He wrote home to the Company in March 1615, that “these Jesuits do so bewitch the king [emperor Jahangir (1569–1627)] &c with daily presents, as glasses, china dishes, varieties of wine &c that nothing is denied them....” He went on: “They shame not to say we are a people rebelled subjects to their king,” meaning, surely, the Jesuits’ king, or pope, or perhaps the King of Spain, who, via his marriage to “bloody” Mary, had claimed the English throne, thereby justifying his Armada.<sup>143</sup> Kerridge’s solution: send into India “some court like pictures...as the King Sitting in Parliament and suchlike.”<sup>144</sup> His colleague, William Edwards (dates unknown), stationed inland at Ajmer, sought to make the same point and asked for pictures of “the fight of 88,” while a third factor in India requested “a picture of our court of Parliament.”<sup>145</sup>

In Japan, Cocks not only received the pictures, he also had a book which he referred to as *Chronicles of England from Brute until the Gunpowder Treason*. No such work is known, so this must be a description not a title, in which case William Camden’s (1551–1623) *Britannia* of 1610, or John Speed’s (1542–1629) *History of Great Britain*, of 1611 are the most likely contenders.<sup>146</sup> (Figure 7) The description, however, shows the book’s agenda: to tie the defeat of Guy Fawkes into an on-going royal



Figure 7. William Camden. *Britannia* (frontispiece), 1610 (1st ed. 1585). Society of Antiquaries, London.

141 Quoted in Haynes 1989, p. 157.

142 Höpfel 2004, p. 323 and McCoog 2008, p. 94. McCoog notes James I was tolerant and there were some forty Jesuits in England and Wales in 1606, and some 100 by the 1610s.

143 Phillip II was of course dead by 1615, and England and Spain were at peace, so the charge was fatuous.

144 Kerridge to East India Company, in Foster (ed.) 1896, vol. 3, p. 68.

145 Edwards to East India Company, 26.2.1615, and to Mitford, 15.3.1615, in Foster (ed.) 1896, vol. 3, pp. 17 and 86. Edwards also asks for pictures of “our Saviour’s Passion,” which made sense in India (Jahangir liked Christian iconography), but not in Japan.

146 Bull to Cocks, 9.6.1617, in Farrington (ed.) 1991, pp. 610 and 620, n. 5.



continuum. The starting point, Brute (or Brutus), was the great grandson of Aeneas, who succeeded King Priam of Troy after the killing of Hector's son by Agamemnon, as told by Homer. Myth had it that he fled northwards and found an island that he renamed after himself ("Britain"), building there a new city of Troy, or Troynouant, later called London, from which he ruled as king. Monarchical trees of the English kings routinely traced them back to Brute, who had three sons, among whom he divided his kingdom. This legend was most critical for James, who had also come from a foreign country (Scotland), ascending the throne in 1603 as the first king since Brute to rule all Britain, in honour of which he gave himself a new title, "King of Great Britain."<sup>147</sup> There was considerable excitement somewhat later when the English ambassador to Istanbul sent home to London a large stone said to have been salvaged from the palace of King Priam.<sup>148</sup>

It is therefore relevant that a third category of picture on the *Thomas and Advice* was illustrated monarchical trees, some dozen of which are listed. Cocks gave one to Takanobu, referring to it as "1 genelogy all kyng[s] fro Brute," given together with the *King in Parliament*.<sup>149</sup> (Figure 8)



Figure 8. Anon. *Geneaology of James I of England and VI of Scotland* (detail), painted leather, 1604. Parham House and Gardens, West Sussex.

## 8th Month/September 1616

Cocks talked to Andō Shigenobu and Sakai Tadayo, as stated above, on 7 September 1616. That same evening, just back from dinner with Matsura Nobutoki 松浦信時 (dates unknown), brother of Takanobu, the daimyo of Hirado, Cocks was urgently contacted at his lodgings. In raced Yokota Kakuzaemon, mentioned above as the top attendant of Doi Toshikatsu, Hidetada's most senior advisor. Kakuzaemon questioned Cocks further on that afternoon's topics, namely the Jesuits and the English crown. Cocks did not hold back. He told Kakuzaemon that the Jesuits were "enemies to the state of England," and "would destroy us all yf they could." He went on: "It were good he advized the Emperour to take heed of them, lest they did not goe about to serve hym as they had donne the Kinges of England, in going about to kill & poizon them, or blow them up with gunpowder." Cocks, no doubt thinking of Elizabeth (poison) and James (gunpowder), and also knowing of the murder of two kings of France, summed up the general Jesuit "tyrant" doctrine: "sturing vp the subjects to rebel against their naturall prince." He also stated that it was for this that "they were all banished out of England." The above is taken from a letter Cocks wrote back to the East India Company in London. He also wrote it verbatim in his diary, which

<sup>147</sup> This was to avoid the clumsy formulation of "King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland."

<sup>148</sup> The stone was sent by Sir Thomas Roe to the Earl of Arundel in 1621, see Peck 2005, p. 183.

<sup>149</sup> Cocks 1979–82, vol. 1, p. 268. Dated 1 July.

he never did with the content of any other letter. He added at the end of the passage a tantalising “&c,” leaving us to wonder what else he said.<sup>150</sup> In the letter sent to London, he continued that he had been asked about these same things twenty times by his own count, and at each questioning he confirmed that the English kings used the title of Defender of the Faith (which was known anyway, since James had so signed his letter to Ieyasu) and that the Jesuits and also Friars were “banished out of England before I was borne, the English nation not houlding w’th the Pope nor his doctrine, whose followers these padres (as they cald them) ware.”<sup>151</sup> This had not happened before Cocks was born, unless he was referring to Henry VIII’s Dissolution of the Monasteries of 1536–1541.

That summer, Hidetada issued the ban on priests referred to at the outset of this article, and which forms the terminal act in a sequence of events here proposed as beginning in 1613. The edict, entitled Instruction Outlawing the *Bateren shūmon* (*Bateren shūmon goseikin hōsho* 伴天連宗門御制禁奉書) is a categorical “ban” (*goseikin* 御制禁) requiring an “absolute stop” (*kataku teishi no mune* 堅停止之旨) to evangelism.<sup>152</sup> It is interesting, though perhaps fortuitous, that this was issued on the 8th day of the 8th month, the date of the Armada’s defeat, though here the date is in the Japanese calendar. It is more startling to note that by the English (Julian) calendar this corresponded to 8 September.<sup>153</sup> In other words, the Jesuits, with the small number of friars and others, were expelled from Japan *the very day after* the shogunate had learned of the theory of religiously-sanctioned “tyrannicide,” the attempted assassinations of Elizabeth and James, and had been fed the proposition that the same might be perpetrated against Hidetada.

Toshikatsu had heard Cocks speak on the 7th (coincidentally the same date in both calendars), then heard more via the late-evening communication delivered through Kakuzaemon. He presumably talked at once with Hidetada, who called in Sūden, requiring him to stay up all night to prepare legislation for the next day.<sup>154</sup>

As a piece of law, it necessarily had recipients, and these were Doi Toshikatsu, Andō Shigenobu, Honda Masazumi and Sakai Tadayo, the foremost men in the land, the closest to the shogun’s person, and the ones Cocks had just met. Cocks heard of the edict on the next day, the 9th, and at once realised it was qualitatively new. More than a reiteration of 1614, and entirely different from earlier edits, all priests and friars were now to be expelled, and anyone harbouring them killed, with their entire family. “This must be foll’d” wrote Cocks, “w’th extremitie.”<sup>155</sup>

Three days later, on the 12th, Cocks dispatched Addames to press home the advantage. Addames was to use his *appui* to seek out Toshikatsu and confirm that “we are no frendes of the Jesuistes nor fryers,” and to emphasise “[we] neither suffer any of their sect to remeane in England, and punish all them which are fownd with death.” Cocks also seems more clearly to have referred to the dissolution of the monasteries in noting that Toshikatsu should be told how the ban on the Roman Catholic orders had “byn kept in England for aboue the space of 60 yeares.” Cocks also had Addames point out that Jesuits

150 Cocks 1979–82, pp. 300 and 398, n. 222. Nobutoki is referred to as “Tonomon.”

151 Cocks to East India Company, 1.1.1617 and 14.1.1617, in Farrington (ed.) 1991, p. 554.

152 Shimizu 1977, pp. 289–90.

153 This proximity is noted (without comment) in the modern edition. See Cocks 1979–82, vol. 1, p. 301, n. 217.

154 Sūden’s diary has no relevant entry for this day. See Honkō Kokushi 1915, vol. 140, pp. 1153–54.

155 Cocks 1979–82, vol. 1, p. 301.

especially loathed the English, and that their “hatred against us and our religion was more than against any others whatsoever.”<sup>156</sup> The follow-up on the 9th was superfluous. Toshikatsu sent back word that the deed was already done. Hidetada had moved to “vttterly to extinguish [the Jesuits] out of Japon.”

In London, King James was duly informed by Thomas Wilson how the Jesuits were banished from Japan because they had “had perverted the natives from their former religion.” James had of course heard about Cocks from Wilson before, and he let it be known he wished to meet him upon his return to England.<sup>157</sup> Fear that the expelled priests might seek to wreak on Japan the havoc they had wreaked on England (or France) after their expulsion made for lurid rumors. Hideyori now definitively missing, the Jesuits were reported to be egging on Hidetada’s half-brother, Matsudaira Tadateru 松平忠輝 (1592–1683), to launch a coup, abolish the shogunate, and set himself up as a new ruler, under the distinctly foreign-sounding title of “His Majesty” (*teiō* 帝王), the very title used in Japan for James.<sup>158</sup> Hidetada gave this report his complete credence, and forthwith exiled Tadateru to Asama in the province of Ise (and later to Hida Takayama).<sup>159</sup> Cocks heard the same, and, “speeches are geuen out that the Jesuits & other padrese are the fyre brades & setters on of all this, in pr’voking children against parentes & sueictes [subjects] against their naturall princes, &c.” Some ruse must also lie behind the perplexing appearance of a servant of Tadateru, eight weeks after Hidetada’s edict, at the English house, offering presents on behalf of his liege, seemingly to taint the English with his purported treason.<sup>160</sup>

## The Dutch

Little has been said above about the Dutch. Their base was beside that of the English on Hirado. On first arrival in Japan, Cocks and Saris were shocked to find that individual Dutchmen (not the Company itself) were billing themselves as “English,” which they did so as to engage in piracy without sullyng their own country’s name.<sup>161</sup> Not withstanding the honours given to Addames, the reputation preceding the English was accordingly not good. Mothers frightened children with tales of capture by the English.<sup>162</sup>

The Iberians had also been tarring the English, and Saris noted, just days after arrival that “our English nation hath beene longe knowne by reporte amonge them, but much scandalized by the Portugall Iesuites.”<sup>163</sup>

Being insulted by the Jesuits might work to the English advantage, but the Dutch were another matter. Both the English and the Dutch were selling the same principal commodity (wool), and were both north European nations with reformed churches. To succeed in Japan, the English needed a rather different tack to neutralise the Dutch. Cocks’s diary is

156 Cocks 1979–82, vol. 1, pp. 300 and 302–303.

157 Farrington (ed.) 1991, pp. 753–54. Cocks died on his return to England.

158 Owada 1999, p. 152. Cocks 1979–82, vol. 1, p. 286. Cocks calls Tadateru “Calsa-sama.” For James’s title, see above, n. 47. Note that this was used for James only, and not for other European kings, such as those of Spain. See, for example, Shimizu 1977, p. 278, or the “Nanban King” above.

159 Owada 1999, pp. 150–55.

160 Cocks 1979–82, vol. 1, pp. 286 and 353. Tadateru is referred to as “Calsa Samme.”

161 Saris 1941, p. 157. Saris calls the Dutch “Flemmings.”

162 Saris 1941, p. 157.

163 Saris 1941, p. 157.



peppered with anecdotes of how he sought to outsmart the Dutch and make the English appear superior and more trustworthy in Japanese eyes. Cocks noted that many Japanese who could detect the difference from the Iberians, nevertheless thought that the English and the Dutch were one. He worked to counter this, and before long all was “fully resolved in the contrary.”<sup>164</sup> Cock’s first letters home reported he had not only separated the English from the Dutch to the Japanese authorities, but had succeeded in placing them in a hierarchy, so that “the Emperor of Japan doth of late take some distaste of the Dutch.”<sup>165</sup>

The best strategy was to link the Dutch to the Jesuits, which was intensely done after the first change in shogunal attitude in winter 1613–1614, after Saris had left and Cocks had gained some purchase on the situation in Japan. Jacques Speckx (1585–1652), chief of the Dutch factory, he reported, proclaimed that in Asia, “he took the Graue Moris [*graf* Maurits (1567–1625)] and the Estates of Holland to be as much as the King of England, yf not more.”<sup>166</sup> Yet Cocks countered, telling Matsura Takanobu that the Dutch were “natural vassals of the King of Spain,” and “in open rebellion cast hym offe,” referring to the Spanish Netherlands. Takanobu should beware, for the Dutch “might breed some alteration in the harts of his owne vasseles to doe as the Hollanders had done,” with wider ramifications, to “make others as themselves are, to the over throwe of the state of Japan.”<sup>167</sup>

Cocks pursued a dual line: the United Provinces were rightfully part of Catholic Spain, so the Dutch were rebels, and, though this was contradictory, it was England that had secured such independence as the Dutch enjoyed, and so, in a manner, was overlord to them. He informed the Hirado court “that all might heare” how, “the King of England has vassales much greater than the prince (or county [count]) w<sup>ch</sup> governs the Hollanders, and that their state or government was under the command of the King of England, he having garrisons of English soldiers in their cheefest fortes, or places of strength they had.”<sup>168</sup>

Again, Cocks told Matsura Nobutoki that “it was well knowne there was no comparison to be made betwixt their small state, governd by a county, w<sup>th</sup> the mightie & powrefull governm<sup>t</sup> of the King of England, whoe did in som sort governe them, keeping garrisons in their cheefest places.”<sup>169</sup>

Cocks was drawing attention to the Cautionary Towns, placed under English control as surety for Elizabeth’s enormous loans to the Dutch cause.<sup>170</sup> But it was stretching the point to imply that the United Provinces were under English rule in any comprehensive way. Still, on hearing a Dutchman claim “their kinge of Holland to be the greatest kinge in Christendome, and that held all the others under,” Cocks weighed in: “I was not behindhand to tell him hee need not lye so loude, for that they had no kinge at all in Holland, but wer governed by a count, or rather, they governed him,” that is, he was an elected stadtholder, not a king, which to a Japan just emerging from civil war might seem dangerously loose. And Cocks continued, forgetting Spain: “If they had any kinge of which they might boast, it was the Kinge ma<sup>tes</sup> of England, who hitherto have been their

164 Cocks 1979–82, vol. 2, pp. 208 and 340.

165 Cocks to Jourdain, 10.12.1614, in Farrington (ed.) 1991, pp. 247–48.

166 Cocks 1979–82, vol. 1, p. 212.

167 Cocks 1979–82, vol. 2, p. 308.

168 Cocks 1979–82, vol. 1, p. 204.

169 Cocks 1979–82, vol. 2, p. 106.

170 There were four such towns, Briel, Flushing, Ramekins and Walcheren. See Elton 1991, p. 357.

protector, otherwise they had never bragged of their states.”<sup>171</sup> Speckx was indeed aware that the absence of sovereign might degrade his country in Japanese eyes, hence his occasional reference to the stadtholder as “king.”<sup>172</sup>

It was not only the Matsura who were harangued about these matters. In Spring 1616, some months before the final expulsion, Shimazu Iehisa 島津家久 (1576–1638), daimyo of Satsuma, the most powerful domain in Kyushu heard Cocks expound on the superiority of England, and apparently Iehisa “took notis of my speeches.” At a reception for the daimyo, Speckx pushed himself forward, but Cocks demanded priority, as coming from the greater nation. Some days later, Takanobu sent officials to investigate who should properly take precedence, and, accepting the superiority of the English king to the Dutch stadtholder, agreed that England should come first in future. “They said I had reason” wrote Cocks, “& that they knew it not till now.”<sup>173</sup>

Iehisa was then on his way to Edo, where he would hold audiences with Ieyasu and Hidetada, but he promised to stop by the English house on his return. This he did in December, saying he “did much esteem our English nation,” though not the Dutch, and that he would allow the English to trade in Satsuma, “but would not suffer the lyke to the Hollanders.”<sup>174</sup> This did not come to pass, but Iehisa did send word, via a retainer, that he remained “much affectioned” to the English.<sup>175</sup>

By dint of Cock’s repeated barrage, the Japanese now “esteemed much more of our nation than of the Hollanders, esteeming them as theevs and we as true men.” The daimyo of Hirado “esteem[ed] our nation far before the Hollanders, as he tould us, &c,” and the shogun himself now regarded the English “above all other Christian nations whatsoever.”<sup>176</sup>

## The End

The dénouement of summer 1616 occurred while Cocks was in Edo; indeed, I have argued here that Cocks’s presence was the trigger. But he sorely overplayed his hand. Cocks’s remarks caused alarm more widespread than he could have intended. As well as banishing the *bateren shūmon*, Hidetada decided to confine the English and the Dutch.<sup>177</sup> Cocks found himself blocked. James’s latest letter, brought on the *Thomas* or *Advice*, was refused, ostensibly on the grounds it was addressed to Ieyasu (recently deceased), and Cocks was allowed no audience.<sup>178</sup> All the sub-factories were closed, with trade thereafter conducted only from Hirado. Cocks lamented they “might as wel banish vs right out of Japon as bynd vs to such a order.”<sup>179</sup> He was informed by Kakuzeamon that it was temporary, until Japan was cleared of priests, after which trade would be reexpanded.<sup>180</sup> But no reexpansion came.

171 Cocks 1979–82, vol. 3, pp. 302–303.

172 Letter of 13.11.1610, quoted in Massarella 1990, p. 393, n. 85.

173 Cocks 1979–82, vol. 1, pp. 211 and 216.

174 Cocks 1979–82, vol. 1, p. 369.

175 Cocks 1979–82, vol. 1, p. 369.

176 Cocks 1979–82, vol. 2, pp. 200 and 286; and Cocks to Gourney, 6.12.1618, in Farrington (ed.) 1991, p. 348.

177 Shimizu 1977, pp. 290–91; Narushima 1929–35, vol. 39, p. 105. The priests were expelled on the 8th and the English restricted to Hirado on the 20th of the 8th month. Both these sources refer only to the English, but the requirement was applied to the Dutch too.

178 Cocks 1979–82, vol. 2, pp. 177–78.

179 Cocks 1979–82, vol. 1, p. 318.

180 Cocks 1979–82, vol. 1, p. 326.

Hidetada, now free of his father, made large-scale alterations to Ieyasu's dispensation, not just with reference to international commerce. "[E]very one complayneth," said Cocks, "that matters aer worse than in the ould mans daies, and that this man doth nothing but change offecers and displace tonos [daimyo]."<sup>181</sup>

The sequence with which this paper has engaged ended that autumn. The Jesuits were gone, or at least should have been. They were not supine, however; though few in number and living in hiding (as in England), they leaked out damaging facts. They tried to turn the tables over the matter of the United Provinces, pointing out the King of Spain was only troubled there because of English support, and "thenglish were they w'ch gave hem [the Dutch] meanes to stand against their naturall prince."<sup>182</sup> Also, they proposed that, though Holland might be small, England was a paltry entity, and even though it might occupy some cities in the United Provinces, it could hardly boast "having only one city" of its own.<sup>183</sup> It may have been in anticipation of this slight that the *Thomas* and *Advice* brought pictures of London, the sole major metropolis perhaps, but illustrating the city in its best finery, probably centred on its only real claim to architectural celebrity, London Bridge.<sup>184</sup>

In a last ditch attempt, *bateren* circulated pure inventions. One was the imminent reversion of England to Catholicism. Someone reported "a blundy [bloody] crosse...seene in the ayre in England, against which an English preacher, speaking in the pulpit, was stricken dum[n]."<sup>185</sup> James was said to have written to Rome about this, asking for "cardinalls and learned men to come to England" as he "meant all England should turne Roman Catholiques."<sup>185</sup> After Hidetada's confinement of English (and Dutch) trading to Hirado, the English persevered in trade for some more years, but then determined to withdraw to Bantam to reconsider their position. They pulled out of Ayuthya, in Siam, at the same time.<sup>186</sup>

In 1622, when Cocks was received by Hidetada in Edo, he gave presents, and requested permission to withdraw "temporarily" from Japan. He found Hidetada "not soe easy to be spoken with as his father was," but the shogun accepted the parting gifts.<sup>187</sup> Hidetada's words to the English were conveyed to them by Kakuzaemon, retainer of Doi Toshikatsu. Cocks reported that he was told how "themperor did esteeme of our nation more than ever, but meanes we had soe well defended ourselves and our plito [polity] against the padres."<sup>188</sup> The Matura agreed to look after the English factory buildings until they returned to Japan again, but the Civil War and Cromwell intervened, and it would be decades before the English came to Japan again.<sup>189</sup>

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181 Cocks 1979–82, vol. 1, p. 319.

182 Cocks 1979–82, vol. 2, p. 308.

183 This charge was made by Jesuits in India (not Japan), see Robert Downton to Sir Thomas Smith (aka Smythe, director of the East India Company), 20.6.1613, in Foster (ed.) 1896, vol. 1, p. 282.

184 Interestingly, Claes van Visscher's canonical view of London, generally regarded as the first, was published in 1616, so some months *after* the ships left England. For a reproduction, see <http://www.luminarium.org/encyclopedia/visscher.htm>.

185 Cocks 1979–82, vol. 3, p. 319.

186 Wyatt 1982, p. 109.

187 Cocks 1979–82, vol. 3, p. 248.

188 Cocks 1979–82, vol. 3, p. 233. Interestingly, the English and Dutch were told to expect a visit by the son of the celebrated daimyo of Sendai, Date Masamune 伊達政宗 (1567–1636), who in 1613 had sent the embassy of Hasekura Tsunanaga 支倉常長 (1571–1622) to Rome. (It returned in 1620.) He had a dozen sons, but in the end, none came. Note that Masamune's eldest daughter, Irohahime 五郎八姫 (b. 1593) was married to Matsudaira Tadateru. See Owada 1999, p. 151.

189 The English returned in 1673, though their attempts to renew trade were thwarted. See Machin 1978 and Kimura 1998.

Two hundred years later the Dutch would still be reporting that it was because the English informed the shogunate about political intrigue that the Jesuits had been expelled from Japan. The English had noted that “the Catholic missionaries had been banished from England, Sweden, Denmark and Holland for the same reasons,” and that, “this conversation served primarily to embitter the shogun against the Roman Catholic priests and their religion.”<sup>190</sup> The information had, however, become garbled, with “John Addames,” a “First Mate,” being the prime mover.

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190 Hendrik Doeff, *Herinneringen uit Japan* (Haarlem, 1833); Hendrik Doeff (Annick M. Doeff, trans.), *Recollections of Japan* (Trafford, 2003), pp. 22–23. Doeff cites Charlevoix “the end of Book XII” as his source, but that work does not contain this statement.

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